# BROTHER, ENGLISHMAN, AND FRIEND:
# A Study of the Poetic Relationship Between Edmund Spenser and William Wordsworth

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# INTRODUCTION

Although many scholars have suggested aspects of a Spenser - Wordsworth relationship, there is nowhere a detailed or thorough examination of this relationship. This study, originally suggested to me by Professor W. L. Renwick, is designed as a preliminary exploration of Wordsworth's uses of Spenser as a poetic source, a partial compilation of borrowings from and allusions to Spenser by Wordsworth, and a general discussion of how Wordsworth used Spenser and the changes that took place in this use as Wordsworth matured. I have not attempted an exhaustive analysis of Wordsworth's poetry in my search for material belonging to a study of the Spenser - Wordsworth relationship: several important poems, for example, have been lightly treated if I felt that they had been fully treated by others. Alice P. Comparetti's detailed analysis of "The White Doe of Rylstone," for instance, is such a thorough piece of scholarship that there is little anyone could add to it. I give only a summary of Comparetti's arguments in my discussions of "The White Doe."

I have used the five volume edition of THE POETICAL WORKS, edited by Ernest de Selincourt and Helen Darbishire as my basic Wordsworth text, and the revised one-volume edition of THE PRELUDE by the same editors, for that poem. My basic Spenser text has been the edition prepared by Professor Renwick.

I am deeply indebted to a number of people for assistance in the preparation of this study: to Professor Renwick; to Professor Helen/

Helen Darbishire and Miss Phoebe Johnson, the former Librarian at the Museum in Grasmere, both of whom received me with kindness and freely gave me information and enthusiasm when I first undertook this study; to the staffs of the National Library of Scotland and the Edinburgh University Library; to Miss Kate Buchan and Miss Frances Phibbs, my typists; and, most gratefully, to Mr Geoffrey Carnall who, as my supervisor, labored patiently and made a far greater contribution to my understanding and to my knowledge than he suspects.

I have made use of the following convenient abbreviations in the body of this study, in the footnotes, and occasionally in the Bibliography.

Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, volume number: Alexander Chalmers, THE WORKS OF THE ENGLISH POETS: FROM CHAUCER TO COWPER. Including the Series Edited, with Prefaces, Biographical and Critical, by Dr. Samuel Johnson: and the Most Approved Translations. The Additional Lives by Alexander Chalmers, F. S. A. 21 volumes. Printed for J. Johnson...(and many others). London: 1810.

Darbishire, POEMS IN TWO VOLUMES: William Wordsworth, POEMS IN TWO VOLUMES, 1807. Edited by Helen Darbishire. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, Impression of 1935.

Dunklin, WORDSWORTH: Gilbert T. Dunklin, editor, WORDSWORTH: CENTENARY STUDIES PRESENTED AT CORNELL AND PRINCETON UNIVERSITIES. London: Archon Books, 1963.

EL: William and Dorothy Wordsworth, THE EARLY LETTERS OF WILLIAM AND DOROTHY WORDSWORTH (1787-1805), edited by Ernest de Selincourt. Oxford: 1935.

ES: ENGLISH STUDIES.

Grosart, volume number: William Wordsworth, THE PROSE WORKS OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, edited by Alexander B. Grosart. 3 volumes. London: 1876.

HLB: HUNTINGTON LIBRARY BULLETIN.

JEGP: JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY.

LY/

LY: William and Dorothy Wordsworth, THE LETTERS OF WILLIAM AND DOROTHY WORDSWORTH: THE LATER YEARS (1821-1850), edited by Ernest de Selincourt. 3 volumes. Oxford: 1939.

MY: William and Dorothy Wordsworth, THE LETTERS OF WILLIAM AND DOROTHY WORDSWORTH: THE MIDDLE YEARS (1806-1820), edited by Ernest de Selincourt. 2 volumes. Oxford: 1937.

Spingarn, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: Joel E. Spingarn, CRITICAL ESSAYS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. 3 volumes. Oxford: 1908.

MLN: MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

MP: MODERN PHILOLOGY.

Peacock: Markham L. Peacock, Jr., THE CRITICAL OPINIONS OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. Baltimore: 1950.

PMLA: PUBLICATIONS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION.

PQ: PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY.

PRELUDE: William Wordsworth, THE PRELUDE: Or Growth of A Poet's Mind, edited by Ernest de Selincourt; revised by Helen Darbishire. Oxford: 1959.

PW: William Wordsworth, THE POETICAL WORKS OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, edited by Ernest de Selincourt and Helen Darbishire. 5 volumes. Oxford: 1940-49.

SP: STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY.

# I

## "The Principals: A Prelude"

> "When I began to give myself up to the profession of a poet for life, I was impressed with a conviction, that there were four English poets whom I must have continually before me as examples - Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton. These I must study, and equal if I could; and I need not think of the rest."[1]

In this way, in his later years, William Wordsworth declares his debts to the four poets who figure most heavily in his early reading and training in poetry. One might justifiably question the absolute validity of Wordsworth's sweeping statement, but his general and life-long dedication to and study of the four poets is unquestioned. The evidence - from his letters, from the notes to the poems by Wordsworth himself and the scholars who have worked on him, from the wealth of allusion to and borrowing from the four poets - is too strong and constant to be ignored. As Wordsworth grew stronger in his profession, and as his confidence in himself and his particular poetic philosophy began to be reflected in his poetic practices, he did turn his attention toward other poets, such as Dyer and Cowper, and could express his appreciation of their work by alluding to them in his own. But it was mainly to Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton that Wordsworth turned his thoughts, and it was mainly by their examples that he fashioned his own mature poetic practices.

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[1] Bishop Wordsworth, "Conversations and Reminiscences Recorded by the (Now) Bishop of Lincoln,etc." Printed in THE PROSE WORKS OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, Edited by Alexander B. Grosart. 3 vols. (London: 1876). III, pp. 459-60. Bishop Wordsworth lists Henry Crabbe Robinson as his authority for the statement.

This paper is concerned with only one of the four poets cited by Wordsworth - Edmund Spenser, the "New Poet" of the Elizabethans - and proposes to explore the poetic relationship that exists between Spenser and Wordsworth, and to exhibit part of Wordsworth's powerful eclecticism in his processes of poetic construction. The material upon which this paper is based demonstrates that Wordsworth, alone among the poets of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was able to combine the two general attitudes that existed, and still exist, in respect to Spenser: Spenser as a moral teacher, and Spenser as the painter of glorious pictures and the teller of tales which defy common-sense understanding. James Thomson (1700-48) and James Beattie (1735-1803), both of whom Wordsworth knew through their poetry, are the only genuine precursors, other than Milton, in the poetic combining of the ~~two~~ sides of Spenser that Wordsworth accomplished.

The attraction that Spenser held for Wordsworth is not obvious on the surface, especially if one tends to see Wordsworth, as so many students are taught to do, as a poet whose ideas and ideals are to be found nicely catalogued in the Preface to the 1800 edition of LYRICAL BALLADS. If we accept the limitations set by the Preface, especially those comments Wordsworth makes about poetic diction, then the relationship between Spenser and Wordsworth seems even more remote and impossible. Had Wordsworth limited his understanding of poetry, and Spenser's poetry in particular, to the "romantic" concepts that flourished in the eighteenth century attitudes toward Spenser, then there would actually be no real relationship. Wordsworth, however, does not limit himself

or/

or his understanding to what others before him had said or done. The 1800 Preface sets up an attitude and a practice that seem to be almost total rejections of what Spenser had done. In the Preface Wordsworth tells us that he has written in "a selection of language really used by men"[1] and that he has tried "as far as possible, to adopt the very language of men"[2] because he "wished to keep the Reader in the company of flesh and blood"[3]. He rejects personifications because they "do not make any natural or regular part"[4] of the language of men and because they have too often been used "as a mechanical device of style, or as a family language which Writers in metre seem to lay claim to by prescription"[5]. And he rejects "what is usually called poetic diction; as much pains have been taken to avoid it as is ordinarily taken to produce it; this has been done for the reason already alleged, to bring my language near to the language of men"[6]. These comments certainly do not seem to be the kind of comments one ought to expect from a dedicated reader of the poetry of Spenser: yet Wordsworth was a dedicated reader of the poetry of Spenser. We know that Wordsworth, in his childhood, had read much of Spenser, among other poets.[7] During his university days at Cambridge he/

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1 William Wordsworth, "Preface to the Second Edition of Several of the Foregoing Poems, Published, With an Additional Volume, Under the Title of 'Lyrical Ballads'." Reprinted in THE POETICAL WORKS OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, edited by Ernest de Selincourt and Helen Darbishire. 5 volumes (Oxford: 1940-49), II, pp. 384-404. II, p. 386.

2 IBID., p. 390.

3 IBID., p. 390.

4 IBID., p. 390.

5 IBID., p. 390.

6 IBID., p. 390.

7 Emile Legouis, THE EARLY LIFE OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, Translated by J.W. Matthews (London and Toronto: 1921), pp. 131-32. Echoes of Spenser in Wordsworth's Juvenilia indicate an early awareness of Spenser.

he thought about Spenser and distilled his thoughts later into language he only used otherwise for comments on Coleridge and, later, Dyer[1]: Spenser was "Brother, Englishman, and Friend"[2]. As Wordsworth grew older he and his family turned to Spenser for solace and spiritual comfort in times of sorrow, as the Dedication to the White Doe illustrates. Throughout his life, Wordsworth's love for Spenser never faltered, and he never stopped alluding to him in his poetry, his prose and his letters, and he never lost the opinion that Spenser was one of the major powers in English poetry. In addition to Wordsworth's realization that Spenser was one of the four poets he "must have continually before" him, he was also one of the four poets - the same four - that Wordsworth feared competition from, according to Henry Crabb Robinson.[3]

The chain of relationship between Spenser and Wordsworth is strong and complex, and may be said to begin with Chaucer. The line, to which other poets hang by threads, so to speak, begins with Chaucer, is continued by Spenser, Shakespeare (although in a different medium for the most part), Milton, and, to a much lesser degree, Thomson and Beattie. By the time that Wordsworth began his life's work in poetry, the line of descent had been obscured by the rise of neo-classicism and the inevitable changes that the passage of time in a growing nation brings about. What had been lost, in a real sense, was the ability of poets to make use of mythology, of allegories and abstractions, elements replaced by/

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1 In a letter to Lady Beaumont, November 20, 1811, Wordsworth writes; "The Character of Dyer, as a patriot, a citizen, and a tender-hearted friend of humanity ..." Grosart, II, 196.

2 PRELUDE, III, 284 (1805 Text).

3 Henry Crabb Robinson, HENRY CRABB ROBINSON ON BOOKS AND THEIR WRITERS, edited by Edith J. Morley. 3 volumes (London: 1938), II, p. 776. Cited in Peacock, 211.

by an almost universal dependance upon matter-of-fact human reason working upon tangible fact.[1] The keynotes of the two arenas of poetry were still basically the same - patriotism, moral earnestness, poetic imagination, optimism, love, philosophical dignity, and a knowledge of human nature and the human heart - but the approach to these things, at least in the hands of the poets between Jonson and Thomson, is particular, almost, as it were, daily, and not in the general and more or less universal approach that marks the poetry of Spenser, Milton and Wordsworth. It was perhaps the consequence of the rise of science during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that gave the strongest blows to the kind of poetry written by Chaucer and Spenser and Milton; also damaging was the belief, perhaps valid, that the old fables and the old mythologies were no longer useful for the kind of reality the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries demanded. As Basil Willey points out in his chapter "The Heroic Poem in A Scientific Age", the attitude toward what poetry ought to do and ought to be had undergone a rather drastic overhaul. When Milton was engaged in the writing of his masterpieces, under the old inspirations, the poetry of his contemporaries "was coming to be thought of as elegant and agreeable rather than 'true' "[2]. Spenser's fate in this age is an obvious result of this kind of thinking: he no longer was to be read as "our grave, moral" Spenser, or as "a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas". The old lady to whom Pope read parts of/

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1 Basil Willey, THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY BACKGROUND (London: 1964). Willey's chapter, "The Heroic Poem in a Scientific Age" discusses this point.

2 Willey, p. 206.

of Spenser probably epitomizes the early eighteenth century attitude: Spenser was "a gallery of beautiful pictures". It was not easy to take seriously a poet whose poetic devices were so foreign and so outdated that the results of his uses of these things rendered them unacceptable as anything more than pictures and pretty romances. The following chapter discusses 'Spenser's Reputation: Growth and Change', and points out the various attitudes that developed toward what Spenser had done.

Wordsworth's attitude toward Spenser changed, or rather deepened, as he grew older. Perhaps the most revealing way to approach the Spenserian allusions in Wordsworth's poetry is on the basis of the dates of composition of the poems. Such an approach will show us how Wordsworth's use of Spenser underwent several alterations and deepened into an almost pure philosophical use. The early poems and the late poems make nearly equal use of Spenser, but the difference is striking in the function and meaning of the allusions. I have divided, with some hesitation and some arbitrariness, Wordsworth's poetry into three general time sections, basing my division on what I feel might actually be legitimate causes for division. The first section ends with the tragedy, THE BORDERERS, in 1796, one of the works which brought an end to Wordsworth's imitative romanticism and his infatuation with the rational philosophy of Godwin. The second section ends with the completion of THE PRELUDE, which marks the full coming-of-age of Wordsworth as a poet. It is at this point, in 1805, that Wordsworth knew and understood himself and his gifts and how to use them. The third section treats of the poems written between 1805 and the poet's death 45 years later. It is possible to suggest additional divisions during the final forty-five years/

years - especially if one is willing to accept the often repeated theory that Wordsworth's great work was finished by 1810 or thereabouts - yet I cannot see any genuine diminishment of his style and power during the latter years. It is true to say that his poetry during the last years was not as striking and as arresting emotionally and intellectually as the poetry of, say, 1798-1807; it is equally true that Wordsworth had already said his piece, so to speak, by 1810 or so. His philosophy was firmly entrenched in his mind, his life, and his work. His skills were complete. But he did not lapse into senility as some would have him doing. Rather, the late poetry (I include in this almost all of the poetry first published in the 1815 edition or later) concerns itself with re-statements of what has already been said, with a re-iteration of his beliefs and concepts in poetic forms which were familiar and which were useful to him. The late elegies and inscriptions and sonnets may not please and thrill the reader as much as the "Intimations Ode" and "Tintern Abbey" and the Poems of 1807 thrilled and excited, but the old power, the old strength is still there, still prodding the reader's mind. The principal forces at work in Wordsworth's poetry of the early years are those of Pope and the school for which he spoke. He seems to be content to accept Spenser mainly as a source for pictorial embellishments and a kind of gothic reference point. There was some attempt at the stanza of Spenser, i.e., the "Fragment of a Gothic Tale" and Juvenilia XVI (B), "No spade for leagues had won a rood of earth"; there is an attempt at personification and abstraction, perhaps closer to Thomson than Spenser, in the "Lines written As a School Exercise at Hawkshead"; and the "Descriptive Sketches" and "An Evening Walk" demonstrate/

demonstrate that Wordsworth was familiar with the FAERIE QUEENE, especially the character of Una in Book I, the "Daphnaida", and the "Epithalamion". Specific allusions to Spenser in the early poems, mainly in the first two volumes of de Selincourt's edition of the Poetical Works, are detailed in Chapters III and IV. THE BORDERERS and the "Female Vagrant" seem to reflect the beginnings of a change in Wordsworth's understanding of Spenser. In the play, there is a conscious attempt to restate some of the ideas that Spenser works out in "Daphnaida", and there seems to be a depth of thought that the earlier works do not possess. The technical advance in the use of Spenser's stanza in the "Female Vagrant", compared to the use of the stanza in the poems mentioned earlier, suggests that Wordsworth had made a study of the technique of Spenser and had caught at least part of the method in his stanzas, especially the subtle use of internal alliteration and the delaying and shifting pause in the alexandrine.[1]

Wordsworth's mental attitudes at this time, 1795-96, were confused and bordering on moral despair. The shocks of the French Revolution, the temporary bliss and ultimate disenchantment with the rationalism of Godwin, the probably persistent remembering of Annette and Caroline, the uncertainty of his own future, all created a combination of fierce and terrible proportions. Rescue was essential, and it could come only from within himself. It is probable that Wordsworth found in Spenser at this time, as he certainly did later, a sufficient source of solace to endear Spenser to him in a way he had not previously considered./

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[1] de Selincourt's attempts to date the "Female Vagrant" on the basis of Wordsworth's improved use of Spenser's stanza, POETICAL WORKS, I, p. 370.

considered. It would not be especially valid to suggest that Spenser helped Wordsworth to escape from his problems into the much purer air of his own philosophical and emotional reunion with Nature, as he did later after the deaths of Wordsworth's two children in 1812, but it is quite clear that Wordsworth's understanding of Spenser became much deeper during this time.

The second general division of Wordsworth's poetry begins in, approximately, 1796 and ends with the completion of the PRELUDE and the death of Wordsworth's brother John in the wreck of the Abergavenny, both events happening in 1805. It was a time of incalculable importance in Wordsworth's development, perhaps the most important decade of his life. During that time he and Dorothy were reunited, Coleridge appeared and, in conjunction with Dorothy, not only helped Wordsworth in his search for self-identification, but also excited his mind and enlarged his spirit. More than any other period of Wordsworth's life, this period was filled with external events which provided food for future verses - it was a time of ripening friendships, of love and marriage, of LYRICAL BALLADS, of a journey to Germany, of thinking out poetic systems and putting them into prefaces, of birth and death. More importantly, for the poetry, it was a period when Wordsworth reached the point of being able to write poems that were, and are, specifically Wordsworth, when his love for Nature and his mystical awareness of the forces that surrounded him led him into a generalized and undefined universe of his own making. It is in this undefined and infinite universe/

universe that Wordsworth most fully exists as an individual poet with characteristics solely belonging to himself and to no others. The influence of Spenser is still very much evident, although in a way that Wordsworth could not have used him earlier. Spenser had now come to be a source for philosophical and moral values. Wordsworth now realized that Spenser was a poet to be taken seriously. Perhaps his knowledge of Milton helped Wordsworth read Spenser as a poet who attempted an understanding of the world and man's place, individually and collectively, in it. A full discussion of this period and the Spenserian influences appears in Chapter V, which covers Volumes III and IV of the Poetical Works.

The final division dates from approximately 1805-6, when Wordsworth was deeply involved in THE EXCURSION, and lasts until the poet's death in 1850. In a very real sense, Wordsworth had said all that he wanted to say before this final period began. What he seems to undertake now is an explanation, through additional poems, of what he meant. His mind and his heart were settled and firm, and he had completed his search for self-identification. His experience with "the vision and the faculty divine" had allowed him to transcend the ordinary life and his own being and reach into spiritual planes that seem to defy any genuine philosophical explanation beyond that of faith and love. He now began to change "from the naturalism and sensationalism of his early poetry to a more definitely orthodox attitude ..."[1] at the time of his brother's death. Yet the change was essential and unavoidable, even had the tragedy not taken place. He/

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[1] William Wordsworth, THE PRELUDE. Edited by Ernest de Selincourt; revised by Helen Darbishire (Oxford: 1959), p. 631.

He had achieved what he believed he had to achieve: he had created, if for no one other than himself and for his immediate associates, a poetic philosophy that seemed to satisfy the spiritual, emotional and intellectual tests that, in part, gave birth to Wordsworth's search. His function after this would seem to be along the lines of making his discoveries comprehensible. The poetry of the third period attempts to do this. The work of Spenser, the work of all the major poets of England, contributed to this. THE EXCURSION seems to be Wordsworth attempting two things: first, the humanizing of his philosophy so that others might understand what he had understood, and second, a careful continuation of the pilgrimage, symbolic marriage, and symbolic tragedy that forms part of the common convention of much of medieval and Elizabethan literature. Mr. Michael Mooney is presently making a study of the pilgrimage, marriage, tragedy convention in Elizabethan poets, especially Shakespeare, at the University of Edinburgh, and has given me the benefits of his knowledge of the subject. THE FAERIE QUEENE, THE PRELUDE, and THE EXCURSION all make use of the convention of a pilgrimage, that is, a movement from one state of being toward another, and the objective of the pilgrimage is the symbolic marriage of body and soul, of mind and spirit. Failure to achieve this symbolic marriage is a possibility which haunts the pilgrims on their road and which takes up much of their thought and action. The symbolic tragedy is the failure to achieve unity. Chapter VI, which covers Volume V of THE POETICAL WORKS and THE PRELUDE, goes into the details of Spenser's influence on these works.

Chapters/

Chapters III, IV, V and VI are mainly concerned with the first, and perhaps major allusion pattern that Wordsworth makes use of, the conscious and deliberate invoking of Spenser for his particular purposes. These conscious allusions, when we look at them in terms of the three divisions of Wordsworth's poetry, demonstrate the change in Wordsworth's attitude toward Spenser and his growing awareness of Spenser's philosophy. Chapter VII is primarily concerned with the second kind of allusions, the more-or-less unconscious recollection of Spenserian ideas and phrases in places where the two poets treat similar ideas but in different terms. The final chapter discusses the support Wordsworth found in Spenser, the assimilation of Spenserian concepts into the world that Wordsworth created, and the transformation of ideas that Wordsworth inherited from Spenser.

To reach any real understanding of what Spenser meant to Wordsworth we must first see what Spenser meant to succeeding generations of poets from the time of Spenser's death until Wordsworth began his own reading. The next chapter traces the scholarly and poetic interests that centered on Spenser, and the changes that evolved through the years. The idea of Spenser that Wordsworth first had is remarkably different from what Spenser came to mean to him.

## SPENSER'S REPUTATION: GROWTH AND CHANGE

The shifting patterns of a man's poetic reputation provide an interesting ground for study. However, it is not at all unusual to find a poet's fame going into eclipse for a while and then emerging at a later date. This has happened to most of the great poets. Spenser's eclipse and re-emergence are not extraordinary events in themselves. The real interest in what took place in Spenser's reputation lies in the knowledge that when Spenser did come back into popularity, he came back with only one aspect of his poetry accepted, the lesser part. This did not happen to Shakespeare or Milton, or even very strongly to Chaucer. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to assess the causes that underlay the general rejection of Spenser's message and the general acceptance of his forms and pictures. When Wordsworth began his first serious study of the poetry of Spenser and the Elizabethans in general[1], he probably understood Spenser as more of a painter of pictures than as a preacher of morals. Three well-known English poets before Wordsworth showed some understanding of Spenser's moral dimension: Milton, Thomson and Beattie. But by far the larger number of poets and critics who concerned themselves with Spenser's work saw him as Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt saw him - as a poet whose works were inspired by a love of ease, and relaxation from/

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[1] Thomas Hutchinson, cited in PRELUDE, 553.

from all the cares and business of life, "the poet of our waking dreams .... lulling the senses into a deep oblivion of the jarring noises of the world, from which we have no wish to be ever recalled"[1]. Minor exceptions to this "orthodox" view of Spenser can be found in the works of the religious poets taken into consideration by Hoxie Neale Fairchild[2].

Wordsworth's study, however, revealed to him the depths of moral and human understanding that Spenser possessed and permitted him to read Spenser and make poetical use of Spenser in a far more serious and intense way than it was possible for any other poet who had alluded to Spenser. But there was quite a formidable critical and poetic opinion to which Wordsworth was heir and from which he had to separate himself in order to comprehend what Spenser had done. This chapter is an attempt to indicate the evolution of Spenser's reputation as it had become when Wordsworth began his serious study of the poet, and will be partly concerned with demonstrating the fact that Wordsworth alone of the Romantic poets was able to disengage himself from the orthodox interpretation of Spenser as a painter of glorious word-pictures and as a poet of "fabulous Invention"[3] and as a resident in a romance world of his own making. Hunt writes, in a note in his own copy of Spenser,/

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1 William Hazlitt, LECTURES ON THE ENGLISH POETS. Delivered at the Surrey Institute (London: 1818), p. 85.

2 Hoxie Neale Fairchild, RELIGIOUS TRENDS IN ENGLISH POETRY. 2 vols. (New York: 1939 and 1942).

3 John Hughes, Introduction to his edition of Spenser, 1715, cited in Hugh Sykes Davies, THE POETS AND THEIR CRITICS (London: 1960), p. 44.

Spenser, of his own "perpetual wandering in his enchanted ground"[1], and Hazlitt says that Spenser was the "most romantic and visionary" of all the great poets. He adds that Spenser is "all fairy-land" in which "we wander" as if "in another world, among ideal beings"[2]. An appreciation of these things as the paramount virtues of Spenser seems to have closed the minds of most poets and critics to the moral teachings of Spenser.

In his own lifetime, Spenser's reputation was high. His contemporaries appreciated his poetic practices, which were based principally on the example of the Italian epic, and, to a lesser extent, his attempts at enriching the English language by a process of borrowing from other tongues and reviving old words used by Chaucer and other early English poets.[3] The experimental SHEPHEARDES CALENDER, with its new verse forms and new words, must have been a delight to the Elizabethan courtier who was beginning to realize that the country itself was on the edges of vast newness in a modern world. Even though Latinists and classicists were not particularly happy with Spenser's experiments, the major portion of the reading public seems to have been. There were few, apart from Sidney and Harvey, who spoke out against Spenser, and even the comments of these two old/

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1 Quoted in E.H. Blunden, LEIGH HUNT: A BIOGRAPHY (London: 1930), p. 344.

2 Hazlitt, LECTURES, p. 68. Thomas Rymer says almost the same in his Preface to Rapin, 1674, cited in Davies, p. 43.

3 W.L. Renwick, EDMUND SPENSER (London: 1957) and Janet Spens, SPENSER'S FAERIE QUEENE (London: 1934) both discuss these areas of Spenser.

old friends were spoken as cavils against relatively minor infringements of the expected norms of poetry. In an age of high and flowery praise Spenser received substantial praise for his work. He was the NEW POET, a "Bryttane Orpheus"[1], the "rare dispenser"[2] of the graces of the Muses, and, like Achilles, he had "wonne the Laurell quite from all his feres"[3]. On his epitaph he is called "The Prince of Poets and His Tyme". Spenser had sung the praises of Elizabeth, as he was expected to do, yet it is not for this that he gained praise for himself. He had something to say to and for his time and he said it well and he was understood. Professor Renwick summarises what Spenser was doing:

> The lesson of THE FAERIE QUEENE is the same throughout: society must be held together by concord or Friendship, the individual must be controlled by Temperance, the state by Justice. The recurrent victory of the trained and disciplined knights over 'the rascal many' was more than an inheritance from the aristocratic Middle Ages, or an echo of Tudor statesmanship, or a memory of Irish insurrections. All these were in Spenser's mind, but they were contained within the greater idea, the necessity of stability. The rabble is crushed because it is a rabble, incapable of constant policy of united action .... As PARADISE LOST proclaims the individualism of the seventeenth century, so THE FAERIE QUEENE sums up the lesson of English history for a century and a half ... To seek and bring home the purest honey of beauty and delight from all the fields and gardens of art was a great work for England, but it was not enough for the deep and ambitious mind. Poetry for Spenser was to/

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1 R.S.'s poem to Spenser, published in "Verses Addressed to the Author" of THE FAERIE QUEENE, 1590. Reprinted in nearly every edition of the poem.

2 H.B.'s poem to Spenser, as above.

3 W.L.'s poem to Spenser, as above.

> to be an efficient cause of action in the world, and so THE FAERIE QUEENE was a political tract as well as a fine story. That was for Spenser's own contemporaries: but, beyond that, for all time there should remain the moral doctrine of the poem, working on the minds of men and inspiring them to right thinking and right doing. England then and for ever should have the purest doctrine of life gathered and stored for her use and benefit. Spenser took for his subject all that concerns man in all his faculties and desires and relations, and expended all his native power and all his acquired knowledge and skill on the construction of the ideal and on its embellishment. Feeling, intuition, tradition, learning, the sense of beauty and the sense of right and the sense of divinity, all combined in that ideal; the philosophy of the ancients, the teaching of the Church, the custom of English nobility, were fused together. [1]

Sidney might be able to fault THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER,[2] and Harvey might make certain objections to THE FAERIE QUEENE[3], but Spenser's contemporaries were trained in the same school that Spenser was trained in and drew upon the same doctrinal and mythological traditions that Spenser drew upon. They could understand, and benefit from the political aspects of THE FAERY QUEENE, as well as the moral dictates beautifully dressed in Spenser's allegory. And they would not fail to appreciate the sheer poetic beauty, the exciting experimentation in verse, of Spenser's work. Like Spenser, they shared "a faith in the native land and the mother tongue"[4] although perhaps not as deeply[5].

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1 W.L. Renwick, EDMUND SPENSER, pp. 171, 180.

2 Sir Philip Sidney, APOLOGIE FOR POETRIE, cited in R.W. Church, SPENSER, English Men of Letters Series (London: 1887), p. 47.

3 Gabriel Harvey, CORRESPONDENCE, cited in Church, p. 37.

4 Renwick, EDMUND SPENSER, p. 183.

5 Dean Church lists a variety of contemporary comments on Spenser by such people as Webbe, Puttenham, E.K., Sidney, Harvey, and others in Chapter II of his SPENSER, and from Bryskett, Ralegh, Lodge, Nash and others in Chapter IV.

When Spenser died in 1599, his poetic reputation was secure, perhaps as much by his isolation from the pettiness of the Court as by his recognised claim on immortality. A new spirit was, however, coming into prominence in English poetry, the spirit of classicism. Perhaps Spenser's general isolation kept him free of this, although his friendship with Sidney, with Harvey, and with Raleigh, must have made him aware of it. Still, Spenser managed to avoid becoming entangled in the controversies over form and matter that occupied so much of the creative energy of the poets who came after him. His reputation was secure, and it rested on his sheer poetic power and his grave, moral dignity.

Sharing as they did his classical training and his love for country, Spenser's contemporaries were willing to accept him as a philosophical poet, a political poet, a poet of moral and ethical purpose, and as a teacher. In an age frequently uneasy, at least beneath the surface, over religion, Spenser preached the idea of the unity of state and church with the monarch as the symbol of the unity; in a sense he was the poetic statesman for the ideal. The Elizabethans recognized in him a poet of fancy and imagination wedded to the purpose of patriotic vision and national consciousness. They understood that Spenser wanted to teach and that he had an ideal which he believed in. "Fierce Warrs and Loves moralize my song" is his promise to the nation. No matter how much Spenser is praised for his poetic craftsmanship, his harmony, his descriptive powers, his luxury, he is first and above all what his contemporaries recognized him as being - a teacher. This is/

is what Spenser considered himself to be - this is what the Renaissance concept of a poet demanded that he be. In his letter to Ralegh, in the allegorical machinery of THE FAERIE QUEENE, in the Christianized Platonism of THE FOWRE HYMNES, in parts of THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER, Spenser's purpose of instruction is distinct and principal. He was dedicated to the ideal of directing his countrymen toward "right thinking and right doing"[1], not just for his time but for all time. It is the business of Spenser's moralizing that the devaluation of poetry during the generation or two after Spenser's death tended to cloud over and hide.

THE AGE OF JONSON AND BACON. The death of Elizabeth in 1603 signalled the beginning of the end of the uneasy unity that existed between Church and State which she had held together by the force of her personality as much as by anything else. It also marked the end of a kind of religious and social leisure that Spenser had sung his songs in. This does not mean that Spenser's ideal of Christian philosophy was unacceptable to the early seventeenth century - Drayton was still able to call him "Grave Moral Spenser"[2] - but it does indicate a change in poetic attitudes. What Spenser had to say about people and their duties and their problems remained true in the seventeenth century, as they do in all centuries, but his way of presenting these things fell out of favor. In essence, Spenser's poetry failed to satisfy the critical dicta of classicism which was becoming the predominent/

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1 Renwick, p. 180.

2 Michael Drayton, "Epistle to Henry Reynolds", printed in Spingarn, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, I, p. 136, line 25.

predominent factor in literature. Spenser's standing was bound to decline as the interest in coherence of form increased, something very evident in the latter part of Jonson's TIMBER[1]. Bacon's devaluation of poetry by classifying it as wish-fulfillment rather than a method of turning the attention to the nature of things added to the elements working against Spenser as a more rationalistic outlook on poetry developed[2]. It is probably true that Spenser would agree with most of what Jonson says about form, since Jonson is restating the principles of Aristotle and Horace and the later classical critics on the continent, but it is also true that Spenser is more concerned with the business of weaving the tapestry of his stories than he is with following the practices of Homer and Virgil. Jonson is in direct opposition. Both Spenser's verse and his language were found wanting by the classical theories of Jonson. Jonson, in a way, contradicts himself in his attitude toward Spenser, at least in the business of Spenser's matter. Drummond of Hawthornden reports of Jonson that "Spenser's stanzas pleased him not, nor his matter ..."[3], although Jonson, in TIMBER, condemns only the language; "Spenser, in affecting the Ancients, writ no language: Yet I would have him read for his matter, but as Virgil read Ennius"[4]. Jonson was not interested in enriching the language but in making it work to perfection/

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1 Ben Jonson, TIMBER, OR DISCOVERIES, 1620-35?, Spingarn, I, pp. 60-64.

2 Francis Bacon, THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING and THE NEW ATLANTIS, edited by Thomas Case (Oxford: 1956). Bacon's system of classification appears in THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING, II, pp. 97-98. Spingarn's Introduction to SEVENTEENTH CENTURY is also useful here.

3 CONVERSATIONS OF BEN JONSON AND WILLIAM DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN, 1619, cited in Davies, p. 39, and Spingarn, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, I, pp. 210-211.

4 cited in Davies, p. 38, and Spingarn, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, I, p. 34.

perfection within its natural limitations.

Spenser had his followers, almost his school, and he had his imitators. The Fletchers and Drayton are examples. But Jonson, guided by his classical theories and working in a different tradition, rejected Spenser's involved Italianate allegory for the simpler allegory found in popular drama for his personifications and abstractions. One element of Spenser, however, did not decline in favor. As the religious and political allegory of THE FAERIE QUEENE lost its emphasis, the satiric beast allegory of "Mother Hubberds Tale" gained. Spenser the moralist passed out of vogue not because he was unimportant or unreadable but because the new critical rationalism tended to by-pass what he had done.

As a satirist Spenser is a relatively minor figure, although it is this element of his poetry which seems to make the greatest impact during the first thirty years of the seventeenth century. Spenser's major satiric work is "Mother Hubberds Tale", a poem which belongs to the ancient tradition of the beast allegory - an association which probably helped keep the poem alive in the age of Jonson. There is some gentle satire in THE FAERY QUEENE, some in THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER (especially in "May" and in "July"), and in "The Teares of the Muses", although the latter is more of a complaint than a satiric attack. The most frequently noted satiric outburst in Spenser is his castigation of the court in "Colin Clouts Come Home Again". Of most interest to the poets who were writing in the early seventeenth century, however, was the beast allegory used in "Mother Hubberds Tale"[1].

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[1] Hoyt H. Hudson, "John Hepwith's Spenserian Satire Upon Buckingham: With Some Jacobean Analogues", HLB, VI (1934) pp. 39-71.

Tale". Michael Drayton's "The Owle" (1604) is a close imitation of Spenser's poem but written with a more generalized outlook. James Melvil's "The Black Bastell" (composed probably in 1611 but not published until 1634) is a beast allegory in the metre of "The Ruines of Time" and of THE FOWRE HYMNES which satirises corruption in high places - social, political and ecclesiastical.[1] Peter Woodhouse's "The Flea" (1605) is perhaps more humorous than satiric and reminds one of "The Visions of the Worlds Vanities" more than it does of its pattern, "Mother Hubberds Tale". Much closer to Spenser's satiric poem is Richard Niccol's "The Cuckow" (1607). Hoyt Hudson says that "The language and style of this poem are reminiscent and imitative of Spenser"[2]. The subject is chastity, and the debt to Book III of THE FAERIE QUEENE is obvious. "The Beggers Ape" (c.1610, but not published until 1627), also by Niccols, appears to be a sequel to "Mother Hubberds Tale". The poet makes use of a fox, an ape and an elephant as characters, and follows closely in Spenser's footsteps. William Goddard's "The Owles Arraygnement" (c.1616) was probably suggested by Drayton's poem and resembles both Drayton's work and Spenser's poem. There are traces of Spenserian satire in William Warner's ALBIONS ENGLAND, especially in VII, xxxvii, in the contest between the owl and the cuckoo. The final direct connecting link to Spenser's poem is John Hepwith's satire against the Duke of Buckingham entitled "The Calidonian Forrest" (written in 1627 but not published until 1641)./

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1 Melvil's poem, probably first published in Holland in 1634, is reprinted in VARIOUS PIECES OF FUGITIVE SCOTISH POETRY: PRINCIPALLY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. First Series, W. and D. Laing (Edinburgh; 1825), section II.

2 Hudson, p. 62.

1641). Hepwith's poem is a transitional poem which looks back to "Mother Hubberds Tale" and forward to the new kind of satire which comes into favor with Dryden's "The Hind and the Panther"[1]. One additional satirist who needs to be mentioned in this connexion is Joseph Hall, who took Juvenal as his guide and Spenser as his master. Hall says that he has been forced into satire because Spenser left no room for improvement in pastorals -

At Colin's feet I throw my yielding reede.[2]

It is worth mentioning at this point that one of the major satiric vehicles in the Middle Ages was the pastourelle, a form Spenser adapted to moralizing ends.[3]

There is little in the way of imitation of Spenser, apart from the satiric element, during the years before the Commonwealth. Robert Fairlie, a little known Scot, published in 1638 two works which demonstrate a knowledge of THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER: LYCHNOCAUSIA, SIVE MORALIA FACUM EMBLEMATA and, perhaps nearer in spirit and idea to Spenser, KALENARIUM HUMANAE VITAE. E.N.S. Thompson considers Fairlie as a definite poetic link between Spenser and James Thomson.[3] Sir Francis Kynaston's English poems, published in 1642, have been described by Professor Saintsbury as "Spenserian"[4]. An occasional allusion/

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1 Joseph Hall, "A Defiance to Envy", printed in Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, V, p. 232, line 107.

2 William T.H. Jackson, "The Medieval Pastourelle as a Satirical Genre", PQ, XXXI (1952), pp. 156-70, explores the significance of the pastoral in literature.

3 Elbert N.S. Thomson, "Between THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER and THE SEASONS", PQ, I (1922), pp. 23-30.

4 George Saintsbury, MINOR POETS OF THE CAROLINE PERIOD. 3 vols., (Oxford: 1905), II, p. 67.

allusion to Spenser can be found in some of the minor or topical poetry of the age, mostly, it seems, poetry written by Royalists. "A Comparison Between St. Andrew and St. George", for example, borrows Spenser's Error to point out what was happening to England and to Religion as a result of man's mistakes[1]: "Sum Few Verses in Commendatione of the Covenant" is written in the rhyme pattern of "Virgil's Ghat" and "Muiopotmos" and has some reminiscences of Spenser.[2] Of far more importance, especially to Wordsworth, were Milton's uses of Spenser in his early poetry, particularly "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" and "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity".[3]

Critical work on Spenser was very limited during the early years of the seventeenth century, and is generally confined to slight biographical notices;[4] Camden's REMAINS CONCERNING BRITAIN (1605) and his ANNALES ..... ELIZABETHA (1615), John Stradling's EPIGRAMMATUM LIBRI QUATTUOR (1607), and Sir James Ware's 1633 publication of "The View of the State of Ireland" and his 1639 DE SCRIPTORIBUS HIBERNIAE compose the bulk of the notices. Of a different and perhaps more important nature were two scholarly essays by Sir Kenelm Digby, written probably in 1628 but not publically known until 1643: OBSERVATIONS OF THE/

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1 Reprinted in VARIOUS PIECES OF FUGITIVE SCOTISH (sic) POETRY ..., First Series, Section 8.

2 Reprinted in VARIOUS PIECES OF FUGITIVE SCOTISH POETRY ..., Second Series (Edinburgh: 1853), Section 15.

3 A number of critics have discussed Spenserian elements in Milton's early poetry: Emile Saillens, JOHN MILTON: MAN, POET, POLEMIST (Oxford: 1964), p. 48; F.T. Prince, THE ITALIAN ELEMENTS IN MILTON'S POETRY (Oxford: 1954) in several places; and David Daiches, MILTON (London: 1957) are among the fuller discussions.

4 Jewel Wurtsbaugh, TWO CENTURIES OF SPENSERIAN SCHOLARSHIP (Baltimore: 1936) is my major source for the following material; Spingarn's Introductions to his RENAISSANCE and to his SEVENTEENTH CENTURY are also useful.

THE 22ND STANZA IN THE 9TH CANTO OF THE 2ND BOOK OF SPENCER'S FAERIE QUEENE and the less precise DISCOURSE CONCERNING ED. SP. Digby claims for Spenser, in the OBSERVATIONS, the title of the English Virgil, a claim which is frequently repeated in the following century.

Three complete but textually unsatisfactory editions of Spenser's poetry were published during the period being considered: the first folio of 1609, the folio of 1611, and the reprint of the 1611 folio in 1617. The copy of "Mother Hubberds Tale" which is sometimes found bound in the 1617 reprint was, in addition "printed by H.L. and sold by G. Lathum" as a separate work in 1628, the year Lathum acquired the rights to Spenser's poems. In 1633 Sir James Ware published, for the first time and in a collection of other papers relating to Ireland, Spenser's VIEW OF THE PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND. Ware included in his publication excerpts from THE FAERIE QUEENE and several sonnets and poems as examples of Spenser's interest in Ireland.

The faults that the classicists found in Spenser are not so much poetic errors as they are deviations from post hoc rules. Much later, Warton suggests that it is improper to judge Spenser and others by rules which did not exist when they wrote, but this idea seems not to have bothered the age of Jonson.[1] Jonson's reflection that Spenser, because he used obsolete words and sometimes forced words into spellings to make them rhyme, "writ no language" is typical of the kind of neo-classical/

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1 Warton, OBSERVATIONS, I, pp. 15-16 and elsewhere. Bishop Hurd agrees with Warton.

classical critical thinking applied to Spenser.[1] On the other hand, the poets who practised their craft in the period immediately before the civil war that led to the Commonwealth had a great deal to worry about, and poetry was frankly not the principal source of concern. A way of life was dying and the individual had to come to some sort of understanding with the new, or leave. Yet, the poets still practised their crafts, and still directed their energies towards the problems of society and religion and government that had become life-or-death concerns for almost all of the citizens of England. In essence, the pre-Commonwealth poetry, under the impact of neo-classical learning and direction, served a socially oriented didactic purpose more than it did any other possible poetic end. It was most often directed toward what the poet felt needed immediate attention, and what needed attention was not the growing pangs and mellow comforts that characterise the late Elizabethan era, an era when melody and harmony and luxury were acceptable adjuncts to the business of moralizing. It was now a time for crystal clear divisions between men, between "right" and "wrong". Poetry could, and did, serve both camps. The Metaphysical poets had demonstrated a new and probably more useful way to write; the "Sons of Ben" had given intellectual sanctions that demanded observance. Spenser's loquaciousness did not lend itself to the need for strong, direct teaching. The couplet did. Clear, sparkling English did. Brevity and conciseness did. Spenser had none of these things. Neo-classical poetry had an immediate impact,

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1 Warton, OBSERVATIONS, I, p. 133, quotes Jonson and takes issue with him; he also defends Spenser's language, I, p. 123ff, and in his Dissertation on the Gesta Romanorum in THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY, 4 vols. (London: 1824), I, clxxvi ff.

a directness and an intensity that rendered unnecessary the need for idle intellectual day-dreaming in spring-fed pastoral and fairy scene. What Spenser taught was not false, but his methods were no longer appropriate.

THE COMMONWEALTH. The Commonwealth is a difficult period to evaluate in terms of poetry. It was a period primarily of prose pamphlets, and poetry seemed to hibernate for the most part. The Church vs State controversy reached a climax and the crown fell before the executioner's axe. The intense soul-searching that the Cromwell movement brought about was directed into non-poetic lines. Intellectual pursuits seemed to be concerned mainly with Biblical interpretations and Scriptual legalism. When the Puritan factor assumed control of the country, the poetic urge faded before the demands of prose explanations. In addition, the Puritans seemed suspicious of drama and of poetry, especially if it gave any sign of paganism or licentiousness, i.e., if it were not grounded on the Bible.[1] Prose pamphlets were easier to write and could carry a fuller message than could poetry. Even Milton, who in public prose "dared" to think Spenser a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas, sublimated his poetic energies to the task of supporting through his prose the Commonwealth. The neo-classical critical ideas remained the standard for excellence, although there were signs of a revolt against the rules of understanding and good, common sense as early as Abraham Cowley. In exile during the period, he tells in his essay "Of Myself" how he read Spenser during his youth "and was infinitely delighted with the stories/

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1 Professor Renwick makes an interesting distinction between the Puritanism of the Cromwell group and that of Spenser and Milton, EDMUND SPENSER, Chapter 9.

stories of knights and giants and monsters and brave houses which I found everywhere there (though my understanding had little to do with all this)".[1] This is almost exactly what Hazlitt and Hunt say later. Bishop Sprat, Cowley's biographer, suggests in his comment on Cowley's essay, that THE FAERIE QUEENE "is a poem fitter for the examination of men than the consideration of a Child".[2] Sprat evidently held roughly the same view that Jonson did, that Spenser ought to be read for his matter, a view which Milton can be associated with. Henry Reynolds approved Spenser's presentation of "an exact body of the Ethicke doctrine", but felt that Spenser should have been a little freer of his fiction "and not so close rivetted to his Morall".[3] Sir William Davenant argues that Spenser could have better used himself on "matter of a more naturall and therefore of a more usefull kinde", because his allegory resembled a phantasmagoria.[4] Here then, in the Commonwealth, we have the two general views of Spenser - grave and moral on the one hand, romantic and dreamlike on the other.

There were others at work on Spenser as well.[5] Sir Kenelm Digby's essay on Spenser was first published in 1643, although it was probably written as early as 1628, along with his "Discourse on Ed. Sp.".

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1 Abraham Cowley, "Of Myself", THE ENGLISH WRITINGS OF ABRAHAM COWLEY, edited by A.R. Walter (Cambridge: 1906), p. 457.

2 Thomas Sprat, "Life and Writings of Cowley", Spingarn, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, II, p. 121.

3 Henry Reynolds, "Mythomystes", 1633(?), printed in Spingarn, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, I, p. 147.

4 Sir William Davenant, "Preface to GONDIBERT", 1650, printed in Spingarn, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, II, p. 6.

5 Again, my major sources are Wurtsbaugh and Spingarn.

Sp.". Sir William Davenant published his Preface to GONDIBERT in 1650, a publication which contained a brief discussion of Spenser's language and diction. William Bosworth, in his ARCADIUS AND SEPHA, 1651, repeats Digby's claim for Spenser as England's Virgil; Robert Johnston repeated and enlarged, in his HISTORIA RERUM BRITANNICORUM, the brief biographical sketch found in Camden's ANNALES. In 1653 Dr. William Dillingham edited and published Theodore Bathurst's Latin translation of THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER, the CALENDARIUM PASTORALE, the two poems appearing on facing pages in the publication. At the end of the period Dr. John Worthington was corresponding with Milton's friend Samuel Hartlib about their unsuccessful searches for the "lost" books of THE FAERIE QUEENE, and Thomas Fuller was beginning to formulate his HISTORY OF THE WORTHIES OF ENGLAND.

Milton, I think, recognised that part of Spenser's appeal was to the heart, assisted by the mind and by the legacy of the past.[1] His studies in Spenser during his stay at Horton color his early poetry, yet he seemed to read Spenser not as the purveyor of gorgeous pictures and beautiful colors as much as he read him as "our sage and serious" teacher of morals, as a philosophical poet who had accepted the poetic trust of bettering mankind. It was to Spenser the teacher that Milton turned his attention both in his youth and in his later years. He knew his Spenser well and had him very much in mind as he wrote his own poetry, early and late. But he did not attempt to imitate his master./

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[1] A number of scholars have investigated the relationships between Spenser and Milton, among them Warton, Prince, Saillen, Renwick, James Holly Hanford, R.D. Havens, Daiches, T.S. Eliot, Walter Ralegh and J.S. Smart. My summary is based on my readings in all of them.

master. This would have not served his general purpose. Unlike the Metaphysical poets of a previous generation, poets who seemed dedicated to the introspective tasks of defining themselves and their particular relationships, Milton believed that his work as a poet was the same as that of a teacher, a philosopher, a moraliser. He desired eternal fame and sought it on the basis of making a deep and lasting contribution to the welfare of his fellow men. Spenser had done this, and Milton was very much aware that there Spenser's worth lay, not in his tapestry pictures but in his moral values. He knew that Spenser's use of knights, and beautiful ladies in distress, and high adventures in "saluage forrests" could have little more than escapist appeal for his own time. It was essential to find something practical in and for the contemporary physical human situations which gave little scope to the association of knights and ladies and dragons with the problems of every day flesh and blood human life. He realized that the morality of Spenser had to be retained, that the ethical values of patriotism and social conduct had not changed. Chivalry was dead, and so was the force allusions to it might give to poetry; the Bible was very much alive and very much involved in the thinking of his age. He absorbed Spenser's beliefs and his dedication to a religio-philosophic poetry, added his own genius and his own grandeur of poetic expression to what he had assimilated, and wrote his own poetry.

THE RESTORATION. The return of Charles II to claim the throne and the resultant business of sorting out the remains of the Commonwealth brought new forces to bear on English poetic trends and practices. The Court returned from exile in France with a liking for what French poets/

poets and dramatists were doing. Emotions and feeling that had been restrained by twenty years of Puritan rule were freed. The translation of Boccalini's RAGGUAGLE DI PARNASO by the Earl of Monmouth, first published in 1656 but frequently reprinted, introduced still another new factor into literature, especially satiric literature, the essay.[1] Those who would seem best qualified to do the most for poetry were concerned principally with composing the "best" poetry, that which sought correctness and which was politically safe. It was not a time for moralizing but for "correct" verse that was pleasant, happy, flippant or bawdy. Ben Jonson's insistence on form, aided and abetted by several generations of practising poets, culminated in the simplest and the most difficult of poetic measures, the heroic couplet, which offered both stability and a kind of grace to the poets. Dryden, whom Wordsworth accuses of having "neither a tender heart nor a lofty sense of moral dignity"[2], freely acknowledges the debt that he and other poets owe to Spenser but he also quickly condemns him for his failure to obey the rules. But what really separated Spenser from the poets of the Restoration was his sweetness and his allegorical preaching. The spirit of satire became the strongest spirit at work in poetry, as well as in prose, partly through the influence of Boccalini and his mythological courts of Apollo, partly as a development of Jonson's theories. Sidney had left to Jonson a sense of the high dignity of poetry, an ideal which Jonson saw fit to confine to the human social level. The seventeenth century "Sons of Ben" evolved a/

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1 Spingarn, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, Introduction, pp. xxiii-xxv especially takes a long look at Boccalini's place in the history of English literature.

2 Letter to Walter Scott, November 7, 1805. EL. p. 541.

a kind of high satire in poetry, retaining a degree of seriousness but on a much more practical than philosophical level. Their poetry was serious in its condemnations of social evils and in its ambitions to bring about improvements. Their concern was for the immediate, the practical. The wits of the Restoration resumed this line and added a lightness and flippancy to their satire. The critical standards established by Jonson underwent an alteration at the hands of the Restoration critics, through whom a critical standard of judgment was dictated not by the pedant and the scholar but by the decidedly worldly, refined and cultured man of manners, the urban Gentleman. The beginning of the move toward nationalism in France at this time was relatively unimportant, although the call by French critics, whose control over French poetic practices was the envy of their English counterparts, for religious epics and the use of scriptual themes in poetry did attract some attention. As early as 1650 there was an interest in such themes in France,[1] and Milton, perhaps with no thought of the French critics in mind, answered the call in English. The French critics did, however, make some impression on Dryden. But this was not an important thing at the time; the Precieuse spirit was, and it is this which proved more and more congenial as the Restoration and the Neo-Classical Age progressed. It did not contribute heavily to the existing critical and intellectual concepts in practice, but it did provide a focal point of national pride and genius to which English poets could refer. As Spingarn says,/

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1 Spingarn, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, II, p. 334.

says, "this was truly the spirit of the age". What this spirit produced was a school of very fine craftsmen poets whose function was to laugh out of existence those things which violated the surface beauty and tranquility of life and to bring into existence those things which enforced the logicalness of the social, political and religious forms which seemed most likely to produce and preserve a pleasant and peaceful atmosphere. There were a number of diverse schools of critical thought, each, however, striving for the same thing, a neo-classical regulation and rationale in poetry and life. Spenser, in the original, simply did not fit. In 1679, for example, the WORKS OF THAT FAMOUS ENGLISH POET, MR. EDMOND SPENSER, "corrected", was published. Eight years later a paraphrase of Book I of THE FAERIE QUEENE, SPENCER REDIVIVUS, was published, presumably as an attempt to make Spenser intelligible.

What is more interesting than the fact of the publications of Spenser is the renewal of interest in Spenser. There arose a tendency to visualise Spenser as a delightful "barbarian" who celebrated his queen in a fashion that could be applied to a far more cultured and cultivated ruler in a far more civilised society. The poetry of Dryden and his contemporaries was far more objective than the complicated verse patterns of the Elizabethans. Spenser's stanza, with its medial rhyme and its long, slow final line, seemed complicated to people whose poetic training ground was the couplet. THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER and "Mother Hubberds Tale" had more intellectual appeal than did THE FAERIE QUEENE or THE FOWRE HYMNES, partly because they were written in a simpler metre. Poets were more interested in making clear and precise statements about social evils than they were/

were in other matters, although they were usually cognizant of the poetic power of Milton. Essentially, the Restoration was a time, poetically, for two things: the social critic who treated social evils satirically in the hope of eliminating them; and the introspective poet who tried to place himself in a proper perspective in relation to the social, religious and political demands of the time.

THE AGE OF REASON. Sir William Temple effectively spans the time gap between the Commonwealth and the Age of Reason without leaning heavily on either one. He was at heart a classicist of the old school. To him, the poetry of the ancient Greek and Roman poets was far superior to anything that had been produced since, although he admits that poetry written in modern languages "was not without some charms, especially those of grace and sweetness, and the ore began to shine in the hands and works of the first refiners ... Petrarch, Ronsard, Spenser ...".[1] In addition to his concern for language, Temple was interested in the use of religion in poetry, a practice he suggests that moderns cannot do as well as the ancients could, for Christianity does not fit into fiction as easily as did the mythology of the ancients. Temple credited Spenser with the virtue of supplying morality and instruction instead of story to his epic, but although his execution and his fancy deserve the highest praise, his design was poor and his moral so bare that it had no effect. The Age of Pope, of Reason, continued to accept Spenser as a painter of/

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1 Sir William Temple, "Of Poetry", in THE ENGLISH ESSAYISTS FROM LORD BACON TO JOHN RUSKIN, compiled and edited by Robert Cochrane (London: 1876) p. 97. William Shenston says rather much the same kind of thing in his "On Writing and Books", in the same volume, p. 204.

of beautiful poetic pictures which were frequently clouded over by unacceptable verse practices. He was useful as a guide to image-making but his language and his versification were to be avoided. Matthew Prior attempted to right Spenser's wrong by regularising and popularising Spenser's stanza, a remarkable thing for it attracted critical and scholarly attention to Spenser. Pope seemed to realize what Spenser's greatness lay in but he could not give him his due. Harte, who worked with Pope and who probably reflected some of Pope's critical and literary tastes, was not so reticent.[1] Spenser was generally accepted as possessing a number of characteristics and beauties: he was "sweet", "gentle", "luxurious", the "poet of idleness"; he was the "artless poet" whose free-flowing verse excited the imagination and moved the emotions;[2] because he lived in a noble age he too was noble and his thoughts were noble; he is the fulfillment of the imaginative needs of the Reasonable man (an idea taken from Bacon's essay on "Health"); he knew and used, sometimes misused, ancient history and the works of the ancient poets - as Jortin, Hughes, and/

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1 Walter Harte, POEMS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, Bernard Lintot. (London: 1727), and Harte's poems and comments in Chalmers, XVI, p. 399; Harte's notes to his translation of the "Sixth Thebaid of Statius" and his advertisement to his "Religious Melancholy" are efforts toward gaining neo-classical acceptance for Spenser.

2 These phrases are taken from the works of numerous eighteenth century poets, found in Chalmers, X - XX. There are literally hundreds of mentionings of and allusions to Spenser in the poems printed by Chalmers, almost all of them supporting the "surface" reading of Spenser by the eighteenth century.

and others are at great pains to point out; although he could not be accepted as a social moralist, he was still worth reading for pleasure if one remembered that Spenser's world was a fairy world, an allegorical world, not real life; approach him as a product of his own age and judge him, if he has to be judged, emotionally and imaginatively, not by the standards of classical English poetic theory. So says Thomas Warton.[1] Dr. Richard Blackmore probably speaks for the general rejection of Spenser by the neo-classicists when he censures Spenser for his extravagant fancies.[2]

The attitude of the eighteenth century toward Spenser is a mixed attitude. A small band of religious poets, according to Hoxie Neale Fairchild, and one or two scattered other poets often recalled the moral side of Spenser;[3] the rest of the poets were content with his picture making capacity for the most part. As part of a general revival of interest in the Elizabethans, eighteenth century scholars turned their attention toward Spenser.[4] The poets in general display a genuine feeling for Spenser but not a sympathetic understanding, an appreciation but not a real awareness of his purposes. Spenser's stanza achieved a measure of populabity as a verse form, either in the regular version developed by Prior or in the original form /

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1 Warton, OBSERVATIONS, I, pp. 66-67, 133; II, 87-88, and elsewhere.

2 Richard Blackmore, "Preface to Prince Arthur", Spingarn, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, III, p. 238.

3 Hoxie Neale Fairchild, RELIGIOUS TRENDS IN ENGLISH POETRY, 2 vols. (New York: 1939 and 1942). Fairchild treats at length the uneasiness experienced in the eighteenth century when religion appeared to be in conflict with social and political ideals. E.M.W. Tillyard, THE METAPHYSICALS AND MILTON (London: 1956) discusses the problem, especially pp. 80-91.

4 Earl Wasserman, ELIZABETHAN POETRY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, insists on the idea of a general Elizabethan revival, especially pp. 192-252.

form that Spenser created. Samuel Croxall and John Upton are two who openly imitated the stanza. Earl Wasserman and E.P. Morton explore in depth the imitations of Spenser in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Apart from the stanza itself, other elements of Spenser had an appeal. The pastoral, for example, was handled by Pope, Gay, and Philips with success and with an eye on Spenser's example. Allusions to Spenser abound in the poetry of the century, in Thomas Tickell, in Prior, in Elijah Fenton, Samuel Boyse, and William Thompson, all of whom not only copied the stanza but alluded frequently to its creator, especially in connection with the nation and the Crown. Gloster Ridley, Christopher Pitt, Sir William Jones, John Glanvill, the Reverend Mr. Mason all found Spenser useful, and their working of Spenserian elements into their own poetry helped prepare the way for the more extensive uses of Spenser by Shenstone, Thomson and Beattie. Sir William Jones undertook a poetic exploration of the pastoral. Basing his ideas on Addison's hint in THE GUARDIAN, 32, Jones divides pastorals into two kinds, the elegant and polished - begun by Virgil and followed by Pope - and the simple and unadorned - begun by Spenser and followed by Gay. In Jones' allegory, Spenser and Virgil inherit the pastoral kingdom of Theocritus and each establishes a pastoral kingdom of his own and in his own style. Addison's slightly different arrangement suggests that Theocritus left his skill to Virgil, Virgil his to Spenser, and Spenser his to Philips. Spenser, in effect, had reclaimed the pastoral from the ancients and by doing so had given it a legitimacy in the eyes of the neo-classicists. As a result of Spenser's work on the pastoral, the eighteenth century was free to make use of his patterns.

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The scholarly renewal of interest in the Elizabethans came about as a consequence of several factors, not the least important of which was a growing awareness that the Elizabethans had to be understood in terms of their age and not another. The poets and critics of the early eighteenth century were more concerned with the task of explaining the Elizabethans and regularising their works than they were with trying to understand why the Elizabethans had written as they did. It remained for the scholars, not the poets and critics, to bring the Elizabethans back into focus as they were, not as neo-classical theory would have them to be. The strongest voices in the revival of interest in the Elizabethans were those of Warton, Garrick, Hurd, Upton and Percy, all of whom concluded that the only way to achieve an understanding of the Elizabethans was to be aware of the social, cultural, religious, political and historical circumstances under which they wrote. Most important was the need to see the works themselves as they were written in terms of the fact that things had changed since the time of Elizabeth, that that age was not really as barbarous as some suggested it had been, that church and state could be practically synonymous in Elizabeth's day, something which seemed almost incredible to the mid-eighteenth century, when religion had become almost a state institution scarcely dependent upon faith or emotion for its continuation. Just admitting to that single attitude opened many previously closed avenues of approach to the Elizabethans. It became fashionable to allude to Spenser and his praise of Elizabeth while writing poems in honor of Queen Anne, and it became critically acceptable to go back to Spenser's pastorals for they were the products of the English Virgil.

Scholars/

Scholars rediscovered Spenser in the eighteenth century. The editions of the works that were available to readers in the early eighteenth century were limited in number and were often inconsistent and inaccurate. The six volume edition of John Hughes (1715) was the first genuine attempt at scholarly editing of Spenser's poems, although the edition proved less popular than expected. There was no reprint for thirty-five years (Dr. Johnson says thirty in error). Between Fuller's HISTORY OF THE WORTHIES OF ENGLAND (1662) and the second edition of Thomas Warton's OBSERVATIONS ON THE FAIRY QUEEN OF SPENSER, a number of important scholarly treatments of Spenser were published. In 1679 the inaccurate WORKS OF THAT FAMOUS ENGLISH POET, MR. EDMUND SPENSER was published in London. This edition of the poems is both incomplete and inaccurate - it tended to multiply the editorial mistakes made in the 1611 and 1617 folios. Almost as a symptom of the decline in the capacity of people for Spenser's stanza, a paraphrase of the Book I of THE FAERIE QUEENE was published in 1687. Bysshe's ART OF ENGLISH POETRY (1702) suggested that perhaps Spenser could be read and appreciated despite his obvious failings - even Dryden, who praised Spenser unstintingly - lamented that Spenser did not follow the rules of Bossu. Hughes' 1715 edition was followed in 1732 by a reissue of the SHEPHERDS CALENDER, and, in 1734, by that remarkable piece of classical scholarship, REMARKS ON SPENSER'S POEMS, by Jortin. Jortin's work is relatively unimportant except to source-hunters, but it pointed out that Spenser could be profitably treated by scholars. By 1750 the revival of Spenser was very much in the making. The owners of Hughes' edition of the works hurriedly reprinted the 1715 edition under the guidance of a new, and somewhat/

somewhat careless editor, possibly John Sympson, who edited the WORKS OF BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER the same year. In the Beaumont and Fletcher publication Sympson cites Spenser at great length and with some apparently genuine love for the poet. In the following year John Upton's proposal for a new and anotated edition of Spenser appeared in his A LETTER CONCERNING A NEW EDITION OF SPENSER'S FAERIE QUEENE. At about the same time, the three volume THE FAERIE QUEENE, WITH AN EXACT COLLATION OF THE TWO ORIGINAL EDITIONS . . . TO WHICH ARE NOW ADDED A NEW LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, edited by Dr. T. Birch, was published. In 1754 the first edition of Warton's OBSERVATIONS ON THE FAERIE QUEENE OF SPENSER appeared, and directed critical attention toward the project of treating Spenser in light of Spenser's time, for " . . . it is absurd to think of judging either Ariosto or Spenser by precepts which they did not attend to. We who live in the days of writing by rule, are apt to try every composition by those laws which we have been taught to think the sole criterion of excellence . . Spenser . . . did not live in an age of planning".[1]

Four years later, three editions of Spenser were published, two of them major scholarly productions. First to appear was THE FAERIE QUEENE WITH A GLOSSARY, Tonson's reprint of the 1750 reprint of Hughes' 1715 edition, with numerous corrections and improvements over the hastily issued 1750 work. More importantly, and on successive days, John Upton's THE FAERIE QUEENE. A NEW EDITION WITH A GLOSSARY AND NOTES EXPLANATORY AND CRITICAL (2 vols.), and Ralph Church's THE FAERIE QUEENE (4 vols.) appeared. Upton's edition, issued/

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[1] Warton, OBSERVATIONS, I, p. 15.

issued oddly enough by Tonson, is the first annotated edition of the poem and marks the coming of age of Spenserian scholarship that may be said to have been born in Dryden's comments and Hughes' early edition. The edition by Church is not quite as scholarly as Upton's edition, but it is an excellent "popular" edition of the type then becoming one of the mainstays of the publishing world. In 1762 the second edition of Warton's OBSERVATIONS, revised and enlarged, appeared. In the same year Sir William Jones was writing his ARCADIA. A PASTORAL POEM (not published until 1772).

The work of the poets selected and printed by Chalmers in his ENGLISH POETS, the volumes concerned with the eighteenth century, demonstrates the rapid growth of Spenserian allusions and influence. One must be cautious in ascribing too much influence, however, for the allusions are mainly surface allusions to beauty and to name. Christopher Pitt, Addison, Prior, Pope, Harte, Fenton, Broome, Dennis, John Ball, Blackmore, Gay, Yalden, Tickell, Savage, and scores of others often decorated their works with Spenser's name and with his phrases. They were interested in him, they made use of what he had written, they commented on his poems, and they recommended that he be read for beauty and enjoyment. William Shenstone and, especially, James Thomson did even more. Like Wordsworth, Shenstone had the leisure to study Spenser and to attempt a personal rather than a purely critical interpretation of his work. Shenstone's attitude toward Spenser's simplicity and obsolete phrases is ambivalent - he found both a source for ridicule and for pleasure. In a letter to the Reverend Richard Jago (probably) at Christmas time, 1741, after reading THE FAERIE QUEENE, he confesses that Spenser's "subject is certainly/

certainly bad, and his action inexpressibly confused; but there are some particulars in him that charm one. Those which afford the greatest scope for a ludicrous imitation are, his simplicity and obsolete phrase; and yet these are what give one a very singular pleasure in the perusal ".[1] Shenstone repeats, in part, his attitude toward Spenser in letters to Richard Graves[2] and to Lady Luxborough, to whom he offers the excuse that while writing the "School-mistress" in imitation of Spenser that he "meant to skreen y^e^ ridicule w^ch^ might fall on so low a subject (tho' perhaps a picturesque one) by pretending to simper all y^e^ time I was writing".[3] Several years later he compares Thomson's CASTLE OF INDOLENCE to Spenser's poem and calls it a good poem and a good imitation and suggests that since Thomson's diction is not simple[4] it is unusual "that Thomson could have so well imitated a person remarkable for simplicity both of sentiment and phrase".[5]

Thomson recaptured the form and spirit of Spenser better than any other poet had been able to do since the Fletchers. THE CASTLE OF INDOLENCE, in the verse form and the allegory, and THE SEASONS, in language/

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1 Letter to Richard Jago (?), December 24, 1741, in THE LETTERS OF WILLIAM SHENSTONE, arranged and edited by Marjorie Williams (Oxford: 1939), pp. 36-37.

2 Letter to Richard Graves, June, 1742, LETTERS, pp. 54-55.

3 Letter to Lady Luxborough, June 1, 1748, LETTERS, p. 145.

4 Letter to Lady Luxborough, September 25, 1748, LETTERS, p. 170.

5 Letter to Jago, November 13, 1748, LETTERS, p. 177.

language and luxury, brought Spenser's dual paths of literary influence into proximity for the first time since the time of the Elizabethans. Alan D. McKillop, in his edition of the CASTLE OF INDOLENCE, interprets the poem as a kind of return to nature, with the entrance to the Castle itself by the Knight as the essential step.[1] He goes even more interestingly into pre-Wordsworthian ideals in this very Spenserian poem when he says that "Like THE SEASONS, THE CASTLE operates with a pattern of man in retirement and man in action, man immersed in nature and man in society".[2] The allegory of Thomson's poem is the nearest imitation of what Spenser was attempting to do since Fletcher's PURPLE ISLAND, and the purpose is essentially the same - to teach men to do the right and proper thing. Wordsworth would have had no difficulty in perceiving the resemblance of Thomson to Spenser, a difficulty he would have experienced in trying to find the "earnestness and devotedness"[3] of Spenser in such eighteenth century imitators as Pope, Glanvill, Prior, Fenton and Upton. He would perhaps find Shenstone compatible - he at least prefers Shenstone's schoolmistress to the modern equivalent[4] - but Thomson would have a stronger appeal to Wordsworth since he, like Beattie, used the Spenserian verse and diction/

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1 James Thomson, THE CASTLE OF INDOLENCE AND OTHER POEMS, edited by Alan D. McKillop (Lawrence, Kansas: 1961), Introduction, p.1.

2 McKillop, p. 2.

3 Felicia Hemans, MEMORIALS OF MRS HEMANS, edited by Henry F. Chorley. 2 vols. (New York and London: 1836), II, p. 92. Cited in Peacock, p. 361.

4 see his letter to Hugh James Ross, December 11, 1828, LY, I, p. 327; Grosart, I, p. 341.

diction to express an escape into a romantic world, a world which they then treat the same way that Spenser treats the Bowre of Bliss.

Richard Hurd, in his LETTERS ON CHIVALRY AND ROMANCE, offers a reasonable summary of the point to which Spenser had risen by 1762.

> What we have gotten by this revolution [in taste and wit in poetry], you will say, is a great deal of good sense. What we have lost, is a world of fine fabling; the illusion of which is so grateful to that charmed Spirit, that, in spite of philosophy and fashion, Fairy SPENSER still ranks highest among the poets; I mean, with all those who are either come of that house, or have any kindness for it.[1]

This is a far cry from the strictures of Dryden and others a generation or two earlier. It is much closer, without being specifically aware of Spenser's virtues, to the belief that Milton held: yet Hurd is more neo-classical than romantic. James Beattie takes the blending of the two areas of Spenser even closer to union in THE MINSTREL, published in 1772 and 1774. Like Wordsworth, Beattie seems to have progressed from a neo-classic understanding of Spenser - in an anti-Charles Churchill poem he has the line "And magic Spenser's wildly warbling lyric!"[2] - to a point of view much closer to that held by Wordsworth. The Preface to THE MINSTREL speaks for itself, I think, and places Beattie close to the mature Wordsworth, and further away from the majority of the romantics, in an appreciation of Spenser. It is useful to quote the Preface for its similarity to Wordsworth himself, a similarity which Dorothy Wordsworth noted:

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1 The Reverend Doctor (Richard) Hurd, MORAL AND POLITICAL DIALOGUES, with LETTERS OF CHIVALRY AND ROMANCE. 3 vols. (London: 1776), III, p. 337.

2 James Beattie, "On a Supposed Monument to Churchill", printed in Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, XVIII, p. 551.

> The design was, to trace the progress of a poetical genius, born in a rude age, from the first dawning of fancy and reason, till that period at which he may be supposed capable of appearing in the world as a Minstrel, that is, as an itinerant poet and musician; - a character which, according to the notions of our fore-fathers, was not only respectable, but sacred.
>
> I have endeavoured to imitate Spenser in the measure of his verse, and in the harmony, simplicity and variety of his composition. Antique expressions I have avoided; admitting, however, some old words, where they seemed to suit the subject: but I hope none will be found that are now obsolete, or in any degree not intelligible to a reader of English poetry.
>
> To those, who may be disposed to ask, what could induce me to write in so different a measure, I can only answer, that it pleases my ear, and seems, from its gothic structure and original, to bear some relation to the subject and spirit of the poem. It admits both simplicity and magnificence of sound and language, beyond any other stanza that I am acquainted with. It allows the sententiousness of the couplet as well as the more com-/plex modulations of blank verse. What some critics have remarked, of its uniformity growing at last tiresome to the ear, will be found to hold true, only when the poetry is faulty in other respects.[1]

Beattie's final statement corresponds to Warton's attitude and to Wordsworth's comments on the stanza of Spenser in his letter of advice to C. Grace Godwin.[2] One is struck by the resemblances that exist between Beattie's Preface and several of Wordsworth's practices and comments. Beattie's willingness to admit old words to his poem, for example, reminds us of Wordsworth's equal willingness to/

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1. James Beattie, "Preface to THE MINSTREL", Chalmers, XVIII, pp. 572-3.

2 Letter to C. Grace Godwin, 1829, , LY, I, 439; Miss Godwin had sent all, or part, of her "The Wanderer's Legacy" to Wordsworth for criticism. The poem was published in a volume by that title in London, 1829, a volume which contains several poems in Spenser's stanza. The work was dedicated to Wordsworth.

to use Northern and Scottish colloquialisms in his own poetry[1], and Beattie's explanation for his choice of meter, in the third paragraph, seems to explain why Wordsworth might have chosen the stanza of Spenser for use in several of his Juvenilia. The Minstrel himself, as Beattie describes him, resembles Wordsworth in general patterns of development. And even though Wordsworth is able to dismiss Beattie's poem as "merely descriptive and sentimental"[2], he is nevertheless indebted to it for part of his understanding of Spenser.

There were others who were bringing Spenser into a better and more unified focus during the latter part of the eighteenth century, although not perhaps as effectively as did Thomson and Beattie. Sir William Jones and the Reverend William Mason, both mentioned earlier, were actively altering the received poetic image of Spenser's worth in their poetry; William Cowper, who became one of Wordsworth's favorite poets, makes a strong case for Spenser's sense by his allusions to Spenser in "Anti-Thelyphthora". By the end of the eighteenth century Spenser was fully acceptable as a poet to whom the beginning poet could turn for guidance. The two separate evaluations of Spenser were growing more visible, although the weight of/

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1 John Arthos, LANGUAGE OF NATURAL DESCRIPTION IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY POETRY (Ann Arbor, Michigan: 1949) points out that "Archaisms are more frequently used by the imitators of Spenser than by Dryden, but even he to some extent justifies Quayle's inclusion of this element of style as one of the characteristics of eighteenth century diction ..." This would seem to indicate that there was some confusion in Beattie and the other poets of the eighteenth century about what was meant by "antique expressions", p. 6.

2 In the letter to C. Grace Godwin.

of critical opinion and poetic practice still was on the side of Spenser's image and picture-making ability.

THE ROMANTICS. The romantic poets took Spenser as one of their own kind. In his poetry the Romantics found cause, reason, and example for the kind of work they wanted to do. Spenser the poet-painter was uppermost, of course, and it is this side of Spenser that appealed so strongly to Hunt, Southey, Hazlitt, Scott, Byron (partially), the young Keats, and the majority of the minor Romantic versifiers. Shelley admired him; Wordsworth and Coleridge idolized him. From the middle of the eighteenth century, poets had attempted to find, or at least recapture, the pure essence of Spenser that had been neglected by the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth. They were still generally missing the moral element, the teaching side of Spenser. The scholars presented the works to the readers and spoke at length about the beauties and the values of the poet. Thomson approached an understanding. Beattie seems to have gotten very near the heart of the matter. Many of the Romantics thought that they had found Spenser's secret, but only the mature Wordsworth ever really knew what it was. The mature Wordsworth discovered Spenser's simplicity and naivety, his philosophical purpose, and used it; he knew what he was about when he was doing it. The early Wordsworth, the poet of the Juvenilia and "An Evening Walk" and "Descriptive Sketches", was very like the other romantic poets who undertook to imitate or emulate Spenser - he was invariably too conscious of the externals of Spenser's verse and diction. That he outgrew this is obvious from his later allusions to Spenser, and from his opinions about Spenser and imitators of Spenser. His letter

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to Grace Godwin is a good example. John Keats probably is nearer to Wordsworth in his understanding of Spenser than is any other Romantic poet, even Coleridge, especially in his practice. "The Eve of St. Agnes" is much more of a Spenserian poem than all of Leigh Hunt's efforts combined. Hazlitt was inclined to avoid the real issue by closing his mind to anything other than the sheer poetics of the poetry. Lamb, I think, probably understood much of what Spenser was about but left us little to go on.[1] Felicia Hemans and Mary Tighe are surprisingly near to their source in their poems in Spenser's stanza. But Keats died young, and Hemans and Tighe never fully developed as poets, and Shelley was too dedicated to other matters. Only Wordsworth found both sides of Spenser in a combined form designed to entertain while teaching. Wordsworth's understanding of Spenser had a marked effect in his life and his poetry, enriching both.

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1 Charles Lamb, "The Sanity of True Genius", in ELIA AND THE LAST ESSAYS OF ELIA, edited by E.V. Lucas (London: 1912), pp. 214-5.

SPENSER AND THE YOUNG WORDSWORTH: READINGS AND WRITINGS

Wordsworth's Juvenilia[1] demonstrate his familiarity with the rhyme and diction patterns that had been firmly established as the criteria of the "best" poetry by Dryden, Pope and their followers. Beginning as he did, writing poetry as part of his schooling, he naturally would come under the influence of the poets who had achieved public acclaim in the previous two or three generations, and would try to imitate them. It took Wordsworth a long time, as it seems to do for everybody, to realize that public acclaim is not necessarily a guide to poetic worth. The Juvenilia offer examples of Wordsworth's reading of Pope, Thomson, Gray, Collins, Milton, Spenser and others. As much as anything else, he seems to have been attracted to the verbal ornateness of their poetic diction, and to traces of real poetic gothicism which he probably found in Young and Blair. Poetic diction, as Wordsworth himself points out in the 1800 Preface, had, through usage, become one of the major stylistic characteristics of poetry, despite the fact that the language frequently was too unrealistic for expressing human emotions. Part of the blame for the existence of an English poetic diction must belong to Spenser, and to Milton, for they, as Emile Legouis suggests, were the fathers in England of the distinction between the language of poetry and the language of prose.[2] The difference was that Spenser and Milton had, after all, created their poetic language and knew how and when to/

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1 de Selincourt prints the Juvenilia as an Appendix to Volume I of the POETICAL WORKS.

2 Emile Legouis, THE EARLY LIFE OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, pp. 131-32.

to use it. Their followers tended to corrupt the examples of the two poets by placing heavy emphasis on the language itself and by refusing to worry too much about the kinship that existed between the language used and the thoughts the language was designed to express. Poetic diction became an end and not a means in neo-classical poetry, due in part to Jonson's theories and the practices of Dryden and Pope, and in part to the weaknesses of their followers. As the modern critic John Dennis says about Thomson, the later poets were, like Thomson, unable to "shake off altogether the fetters of the conventional diction current in his day, and his style is often turgid and verbose".[1] The young Wordsworth experienced the same difficulty. However, his attitude toward what he later condemns as poetic diction, language that is not really useful in poetry, underwent an interesting change. Not unexpectedly, the Juvenilia reflect his addiction to neo-classical patterns of flowery verse - he had not yet seen the strengths of neo-classical poetry - and demonstrates, as Legouis points out, that Wordsworth could write poetry in the neo-classical manner that was perhaps the worst of that kind to come from any of the romantic poets.[2] The faults of neo-classical poetic diction were carried to extremes by the young Wordsworth, but he can be forgiven because of his youth and because it is obvious that any beginning poet must imitate in order to learn. He IMITATED the poets that had become "standards" and his youthful exuberance probably led him into excesses that the mature poetic efforts of Pope and Thomson and Young usually avoided./

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1 John Dennis, THE AGE OF POPE, Handbooks of English Literature Series (London: 1918), p. 86.

2 Legouis, p. 131.

avoided. These early efforts must have been thought-provoking poems for the older and wiser Wordsworth to re-read. Although he learned his lesson well, he never lost his ability to read with pleasure the flowery image of his predecessors.

By 1800 Wordsworth had taken a firm stand on the business of poetic diction and had written at length, in his Preface, and the Appendix, on the matter. Poetry, to be effective, must be written in language as it is really used by men, he says. The poet must carefully examine his wording and eliminate from it any of the flowery and non-sensical poetic diction that had been inherited from such late neo-classical and early romantic poets such as Gray, Thomson and Collins. To be substituted for the meaningless similes and images of the recent past were words which conveyed meaning directly and in everyday terms. Poetry was to undergo an act of purification, if Wordsworth could bring it about. Wordsworth's theories about poetic diction, as detailed in the 1800 Preface, are both interesting and impracticable. John Crowe Ransome's comment that it was folly on Wordsworth's part to provide both poetry and explanation for the public and for the critics is valid[1], for Wordsworth probably did not really intend his Preface to be the manifesto of a revolution in poetry. He was still searching, still trying to find himself and his form in poetry; the Preface is part of this search. It is to be taken fairly seriously as an example of how Wordsworth was thinking at one stage/

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1 John Crowe Ransome, "William Wordsworth: Notes Toward an Understanding Of Poetry", in WORDSWORTH: CENTENARY STUDIES PRESENTED AT CORNELL AND PRINCETON UNIVERSITIES, edited by Gilbert T. Dunklin (London: 1963), p. 91.

stage in his development, but it should not be taken as a definitive statement of the kind of poetry Wordsworth intended to write. Between the 1800 edition of the LYRICAL BALLADS and the POEMS of 1807, Wordsworth changed his attitudes slightly. He developed an understanding of what was valuable in poetic diction and what was not. B.E.C. Davis suggests that "The Spenserian echoes in Wordsworth's poems of 1807 are symptomatic of the change that led to the abandonment of the theories propounded in the preface of 1800".[1] The "abandonment of the theories" was not as total as Davis' statement might suggest. Yet, Wordsworth did shift his emphasis from poetic diction to faulty poetic diction. The older language did have its uses, and the example of Spenser pointed this out to Wordsworth; as did the "false simplicity of the imitators of Spenser"[2] which Wordsworth severely criticised. He recognized the falseness of Macpherson and the purity of Chatterton.[3] He experimented with his own poetry, putting it to the test of sincerity, as it were. The poems of 1807 do have a far larger representation of Spenserian allusions than do the LYRICAL BALLADS. There is less of an attempt to re-create in poetry the language of everyday life. More importantly, in terms of Wordsworth's critical and poetical maturation, there is less groping for style and for language sense. No doubt the work he had done on the PRELUDE proved to him that imagery, to be true, need not avoid/

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1 B.E.C. Davis, EDMUND SPENSER (Cambridge: 1933), p. 157.

2 Legouis, p. 131.

3 William Wordsworth, "Essay Supplemental to the Preface (1815)" in WORDSWORTH'S LITERARY CRITICISM, edited by Nowell C. Smith. (London: 1905), pp. 191-92.

avoid drawing upon the store-houses of poetic language.

The effect of Spnser on Wordsworth's early poetry, up to the composition of THE BORDERERS in 1796, is the subject of this chapter. My concern is with the direct allusions and borrowings, as opposed to the unconscious reflections which will be discussed in a later chapter. How deeply the poetry of Spenser "moved" the school-boy Wordsworth we cannot really tell. It is recorded that Wordsworth's father, who died when Wordsworth was thirteen, "made him learn by heart long passages from Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton".[1] This early knowledge of Spenser was not necessarily poetically fruitful in Wordsworth's use of it. I have been able only to surmise which edition or editions of Spenser the Wordsworth family might have used in their youthful reading. The only definite mention of a specific edition is the Spenser that John Wordsworth left in Grasmere, Anderson's WORKS OF THE BRITISH POETS, published in 1792-3 (Volume III contained Spenser)[2]. This edition, however, would not have been in print early enough to have any influence on the children. The edition most likely to have been available to Wordsworth, either at his family home in Cockermouth, at Anne Tyson's house in Hawkshead, or in the school at Hawkshead, is Bell's edition, based on John Upton's 1758 text, and published in eight volumes in 1778 in the series THE POETS OF GREAT BRITAIN, Volumes XV-XXII. The Bell series seems to have/

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1 Recorded by Legouis, p. 124.

2 de Selincourt note, PW, IV, p. 443. Abbie Potts suggests that Wordsworth used this edition as a part source for the Ecclesiastical Sonnets, in her edition of the sonnets, p. 263, etc.

have been published piecemeal over several years as an attempt to provide cheap popular editions of the best poets to the public. Other editions to which he might have had access are the 1751 edition of Dr. T. Birch, the four volume edition published by Church in 1758, the valuable two volume edition by John Upton, also in 1758, and Jacob Tonson's reprint of John Hughes' 1715 edition, again in 1758. Also possibly available was the rather careless reprint of Hughes' edition in 1750, probably under the editorship of John Sympson. Which edition Wordsworth might have read is not something we can determine with any precision, however.[1]

Wordsworth's Juvenilia, printed as an Appendix to Volume I of the de Selincourt edition of Wordsworth's POETICAL WORKS, contain all that the poet felt was worth saving from his youthful compositions. The poems reflect several interesting Spenserian traces. The "Fragment of A Gothic Tale" and the poem which follows, numbered XVI by de Selincourt and beginning "The road extended o'er a heath", are both written in an imitation of the Spenserian stanza. De Selincourt says of the two poems:

> Both this poem [Fragment] and XVI are written in a debased form of the Spenserian stanza; the Female Vagrant is in the correct Spenserian form. W. is not likely to have written the debased after the correct.[2]

I cite this primarily as an authoritative illustration of [THE] growth of Wordsworth's/

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1 Wordsworth had seen John Hughes' edition at some time in some form for he cites it in a footnote to the Essay Supplemental to the Preface, 1815.

2 PW, I, p. 370.

Wordsworth's critical awareness of what was good and what was bad in poetry. Wordsworth originally composed XVI in blank verse and then converted it, rather unsuccessfully, to Spenserian stanzas. The poem is a loco-descriptive piece of work which Wordsworth attempted to convert because it reminded him of the descriptive poetry Spenser included in THE FAERIE QUEENE. The "Fragment of A Gothic Tale" is interesting for at least one reason: it contains an early version of parts of THE BORDERERS written in Spenser's stanzas. It is worth noting that THE BORDERERS, in which Wordsworth explores his own revulsion against the rationale of Godwinism, draws heavily from the Spenserian gothicism of the early poem. That Wordsworth would utilize a poem in the stanza of Spenser as a source for his play, and as a solution to a kind of problem Spenser would never have had to face, is a suitable overture to the later consolation Wordsworth and Mary found in Spenser's poetry, especially after the deaths of their children, Thomas and Catherine.

Another of Wordsworth's youthful efforts which survives is "Lines Written as a School Exercise at Hawkshead, Anno Aetatis 14", written, if we can trust Wordsworth's dating, in the first year or so after he had moved from Cockermouth to Hawkshead. The most intriguing part of the poem occupies lines 6-112, in which Wordsworth creates an abstraction and personification called Education, and parades before her a masque consisting of Emulation, Shame and Industry. Whether the idea for this originated from Wordsworth's reading from Spenser or in Thomson cannot be determined. The similarity between passages/

passages in the description and passages in Book I of THE FAERIE QUEENE lead me to think of Spenser as the source. Lines 11-12 are a recollection of Spenser's "House of Holiness" and lines 14-18 seem to reflect Charissa and Mercy, in the House of Holiness, and their function in the training of Red-Crosse. Lines 77-82 are also a recollection of the House of Holiness and lines 71-72 remind the reader of Una. Wordsworth's allusions in the poem all seem to be associated with Book I of Spenser's epic, which is the most familiar of all the books of the poem and the one which treats of Una, who became one of Wordsworth's favorite literary figures. The ideal of the House of Holiness, and the poetic devices of masque and abstraction, would have a special appeal for a budding young poet, for any young person. It is possible that William Taylor, Wordsworth's school master, suggested Spenser, among other poets, as a model when he asked his students to write verses on the anniversary of the school.

"Beauty and Moonlight", a poem to Mary, contains a possible allusion to Spenser's "Prothalamion" in stanza three:

> Then might her bosom soft and white
> Heave upon my swimming sight,
> As these two Swans together ride
> Upon the gently swelling tide.
> (31-34)

As poetry the lines are wretched lines, no matter what allusions they might contain or what might have inspired them. The second line is an example of poetic diction at its absolute worst. Yet there is a fine association of ideas in the swelling tide and the maturing breasts of Mary. The promise of future poetry is there, even though the poem is faulty. Somewhat better is "The Vale of Esthwaite". This poem contains at least one quite possible Spenser allusion, in line 559, although he may have been simply drawing on a common stock of poetical language at the time:

To delve in Mammon's joyless mine.

The allusion is reminiscent of Sir Guyon's experiences with the money god in FQ, II, vii. Like many of Wordsworth's early poems, "The Vale of Esthwaite" contains a number of Spenserian phrases[1]: such expressions as "gloomy glades" (line 25) resemble such Spenser lines as "greene boughes decking a gloomy glade" (FQ, I, vii, 4) and "a gloomy glade" (FQ, IV, vii, 38). The expression is common in Spenser. A similar case may be made for "shady gloom", in Wordsworth's "Orpheus and Eurydice", line 51, to which we may compare Spenser's "gloomy shade" in FQ, VI, iv, 13, among a number of other passages. Such expressions, however, occur with much frequency in a number of poets, Thomson and Pope, for example, and belong to the general storehouse of English poetic diction. It is valid to point out, however, that the expressions do appear in Spenser and that they do appear in Wordsworth, and it is certain that Wordsworth had read Spenser. The language of the eighteenth century poetry to which Wordsworth was an heir is fully treated by John Arthos[2] and by Josephine Miles[3], both of whom connect Spenser's practices to the literary diction of the/

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1 Abbie Potts suggests that Wordsworth chose Milton's octosyllabics for his verse because he was not technically strong enough to reproduce Beattie's Spenserian stanza, WORDSWORTH'S STANZAS (Ithica: 1953), p. 64.

2 John Arthos, THE LANGUAGE OF NATURAL DESCRIPTION IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY POETRY (Ann Arbor, Michigan: 1949).

3 Josephine Miles, THE PRIMARY LANGUAGE OF POETRY IN THE 1740'S and 1840'S (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1950). Jakob Schipper, A HISTORY OF ENGLISH VERSIFICATION (Oxford: 1910), discusses the special language problems which arose because of verse forms in use.

the eighteenth century.

In the other poems in Volume I of the POETICAL WORKS when Wordsworth seems to have Spenser in mind, it is usually Book I of THE FAERIE QUEENE, or "Epithalamion", or "Daphnaida" which he is remembering. Each of these poems, and the others to which isolated allusions occur, appear in the editions of Spenser to which Wordsworth might have had access during the period of composition, notably Bell's edition and that of Anderson. Volume I contains, in addition to the Juvenilia, the groupings "Poems Written in Youth" and "Poems Referring to the Period of Childhood". I have not attempted a pure chronological separation of the poems contained within Wordsworth's own divisions, but have followed the order in which they were published. This arrangement, on the whole, demonstrates a reasonable level of chronology for my purposes of showing the evolution of Wordsworth's attitude toward Spenser.

De Selincourt mentions Spenser, in his notes, in conjunction with only two poems, "Guilt and Sorrow" and "Fragment of A Gothic Tale", and both notes are concerned with the stanza form and not to any kind of allusion.[1] Wordsworth himself notes his indebtedness to Spenser in a note to lines 333-34 of "An Evening Walk" (1793 text), which is discussed later in this chapter.

The first poem in the first volume which reflects any Spenserian influence is "An Evening Walk" (pp. 4-39), the two principal texts of which - 1793, referred to as the A text, and 1849, the B text - are/

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[1] PW, I, pp. 334, 370.

are printed on facing pages. The entire poem is an exercise in neo-classical description, with very strong overtones from the "Grave-yard" school of poetry of Young and Blair, as well as from the 'school' of Pope. Similar to "Descriptive Sketches", which it resembles in several ways, "An Evening Walk" is in couplets, and is the poet's effort at describing what he sees as night comes and goes. Yet there are very definite echoes of Spenser in the poem, especially echoes of Book I of THE FAERIE QUEENE. Wordsworth frequently used what I shall call a "compressed" remembrance of some part of Spenser's poetry. By this I mean that Wordsworth summed up in a few lines the pictures and ideas that Spenser drew out to some length. The line references are to three separate texts, the A and B texts mentioned earlier, and MS texts which de Selincourt prints at the bottom of the appropriate pages. De Selincourt notes no allusions to Spenser in "An Evening Walk". I find the following lines which I believe to have been written with a memory of Spenser's poetry in mind:

> A mind that, in a calm angelic mood
> Of happy wisdom, meditating good,
> Beholds, of all from her high powers required,
> Much done, and much designed, and more desired -
> Harmonious thoughts, a soul by truth refined,
> Entire affection for all human kind.
> (80-85 B text)

This passage is an example of the "compressed" remembrance of passages that Wordsworth frequently made use of. The thought of the lines is very near to the thoughts and pictures we get from Dame Caelia and her daughters Fidelia, Speranza and Charissa, in the House of Holiness, FQ. I, x, 8ff. Wordsworth's lines depict the mental state that Red Crosse achieves through his schooling at the hands of the/

the residents of the House of Holiness.

There are two possible reminiscences from the "Epithalamion" that appear between the preceding passage and the lines listed below. The first,

> while in the forest depth he sees,
> The moon's fix'd gaze between the opening trees,
> (262-3 A)

would seem to be a faint remembrance of the concluding stanzas of Spenser's marriage song; and Wordsworth's

> - As thro' th' astonishe'd woods the notes ascend,
> The mountain streams their rising song suspend;
> (351-2 A)

is a possible recollection of the refrain of the "Epithalamion".

> So vanish those fair Shadows, human joys,
> But Death alone their vain regrets destroys.
> (361-2 A)

which is corrected in MS, printed on p. 31, to

> So vanish human Joy, these beauteous shades
> But not alas! with them the memory fades.

Wordsworth ascribes the source of these lines to a line in Young, in a note, but see also "Daphnaida" 358-92, which is a lingering and repetitious statement of the same thought. The lines also have a faint recollection of "Daphnaida" 491-539. The same lines from "Daphnaida" seem to have had some influence on the conclusion of "The Borderers", which is noted in the proper place.

> Like Una shining on her gloomy way,
> The half-seen form of Twilight roams astray;
> (333-4 A; 291-2 B)

and the following lines are referred to in a note to the poem by Wordsworth as alluding to FQ. I. iii. 4. 7-9. There is a MS version/

version of the initial line which reads "Like Una lost and pensive on her way," which de Selincourt prints on p. 33. Wordsworth was deeply attracted to the picture of Una and her inner light which dispelled the gloom around her on her travels, and makes frequent use of this particular attribute of Spenser's creation.

The MS, p. 35, has the following passage:

Meek lover of the shade! in Quiet's breast
With thine own proper light sufficed and bless'd
Warned by thy holy torch's sober chear
May each rude foot thy hermit cell revere;
Thy bower may wings of whirlwinds never crush,
Nor on thy path the devious torrent rush,
Nor night bird, as he bids his descant steal
O'er waters which no star nor fire reveal,
On the still groves high top suspend his lay
To dart upon thy sole surviving ray.
Oh! mays't thou, safe from every onset rude,
Irradiate long thy friendly solitude.
So Virtue, fallen on times to gloom consigned,
Makes round her path the light she cannot find,
And by her own internal lamp fulfills
And asks no other star what Virtue wills,
Acknowledging through round her Danger lurk,
And Fear, no night in which she cannot work.
In dangerous night so Milton worked alone
Cheared by a secret lustre all his own
That with the deepening darkness clearer shone.

This MS passage is dated, by de Selincourt, 1794. This passage is an interesting example of the "compressed" pattern of literary allusion that frequently appears in Wordsworth's work. Lines 13-15 are an echo of FQ. I. i. 12. 9, " Vertue gives her selfe light through darknesse for to wade." Lines 5-7 are reminiscent of the pleas Spenser makes for the safety of himself and his bride on their wedding night in the "Epithalamion", especially lines 326-7 and 345-6. Spenser has, in line 346 the words "Nor the night Raven...", which has an obvious resemblance to line 7 of the MS passage/

passage. MS line 11 is a compressed memory of all the things Spenser asks to be spared from, the "dread disquiet" and the "sudden sad affrights" that could disturb and annoy the couple. The first three lines of the MS passage seem to be a faint reflection of the marriage ceremonies and actions detailed by Spenser in FQ. I. xii. 37, and of Una herself. The final three lines, with their mention of Milton, are interesting in light of the association of Milton with Spenser's symbol of Truth, Una, for whom Wordsworth had great affection. Lines 8-11 are, in addition to the other possible associations, a compressed recollection of FQ. X. 6-7, where Spenser describes the physical surroundings of Acidale, where Colin piped to the Graces and to his own unnamed love. The use, by Wordsworth, of that which I have called compressed remembrances constitutes much of the direct allusive material to Spenser in Wordsworth's poetry.

Lines 334-5 B read:

> Even now she shows, half-veiled, her lovely face:
> Across the gloomy valley flings her light

The allusion to Una is unmistakable.

A rejected passage, found in the MS and printed by de Selincourt on p. 37, has a line, fourth line from the bottom of the passage as printed, which reads,

> From the soft streamlet idly murmuring near

and which recalls several passages in Spenser. FQ. I. 1. 16. 1-4, the description of the Cave of Morpheus, has a similar passage:

> And more to lulle him in his slumber soft,
> A trickling streame from high rock tumbling downe,
> And ever-drizling raine upon the loft,
> Mixt with a murmuring winde...

So/

So does FQ. II. v. 30. 1-4, a description of the particular place in the Bowre of Bliss where Atin found Cymochles resting in ease during the time that his brother Pyrochles was being defeated by Sir Guyon:

> And fast beside there trickled softly downe
> A gentle streame, whose murmuring wave did play
> Emongst the pumy stones and made a sowne,
> To lull him soft asleepe that by it lay:

The murmuring stream image was popular with both Spenser and Wordsworth, and appears several times in the poems. It is not, however, an unusual descriptive image in poetry, and I have not tried to list all of the uses by Wordsworth since there seems to be little in the way of direct recollection in his uses, other than the one listed here.

Wordsworth was familiar with the pastoral poetry of the neo-classical poets, especially that of Pope and, probably, Gay, both of whom made frequent and effective use of the kind of poetic description Spenser used. It is therefore not always easy, or readily justified, to assign specific sources to Wordsworth's use. Shenstone and Thomson were also frequent users of these kinds of images.[1] Such expressions as "gloomy shades," "gloomy groves," "desert woods," "secret coverts," and the like, appear with some frequency in all the poets. I have hesitated to cite such expressions as signs of Wordsworth's reading in Spenser unless the passage in which the usage occurs bears a fuller sense association with the equivalent passage in Spenser.

"Descriptive Sketches" was, like the poem already discussed, first/

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[1] cf. Arthos and Miles, cited above, especially the word lists compiled by Arthos.

first published in 1793, the A text for my purposes, and in its final revised form in 1849, the B text. There are no citations by de Selincourt or Darbishire to this poem as a poem influenced by Spenser. There are, however, a number of direct reflections of Spenser's work as well as a number of compressed recollections of Spenser in the poem. Wordsworth is less direct in his use of Spenser in "Descriptive Sketches", on the whole, than he was in "An Evening Walk". "Descriptive Sketches" probably does not lend itself to the kind of direct borrowing that "An Evening Walk" does because of the quite different purposes Wordsworth seems to have had in mind for the two poems. "Descriptive Sketches" is a far more serious poem, and far less of a purely descriptive piece of poetic exercise than its companion piece. The subject matter is also less suitable, probably because of its broader width and scope, for direct allusion to specifically Spenserian wording. There are, however, quite a few passages in the poem that remind one of passages in Spenser, and which are close enough to Spenser's tone and purpose to permit the assigning of an influence.

The first passage in the "Descriptive Sketches" which seems to have been influenced by Spenser appears in both the A and B texts.

> Kind Nature's charities his steps attend:
> In every babbling brook he finds a friend;
> While chastening thoughts of sweetest use, bestowed
> By wisdom, moralise his pensive road.
> Host of his welcome inn, the noon-tide bower,
> To his spare meal he calls the passing poor.
> (27-32 A; 25-30 B)

Wordsworth seems here to be remembering, somewhat cloudily and in

a/

a very compressed way, Red-Crosse's experiences in the House of Holiness, FQ. I. x. 34-38, especially the description of the function of Mercy and the first two of the seven bead-men who dwelt in the Holy Hospital to which Red-Crosse was taken for additional training.

> Bright'ning the gloom where thick the forests stoop;
> (129 A)

seems to be a reminiscence of FQ. I. iii. 4, the famous passage in which Una, resting in the shade, lays her stole aside and makes "a sunshine in the shady place". This particular type of brightness-in-darkness image is encountered frequently in Wordsworth and, knowing his devotion to Una and her character and her actions, it is not amiss to assume a recollection of what Spenser says about her when such descriptions appear in Wordsworth. Spenser, in addition to making Una a source of light in darkness, describes other of his female characters in much the same way, for example Serena, Gloriana and Pastorella, and, alarmingly, the false women Duessa and the false Florimell. Spenser perhaps provides his own excuse for this seeming contradiction in FQ. II. viii. 14. 5, when he tells us the "Yet gold al is not that doth golden seeme".

> - Thy fragrant gales and lute-resounding streams,
> Breathe o'er the failing sould voluptuous dreams;
> (156-7 A)

is perhaps a memory of two things: the sleep inducing sounds around the Cave of Morpheus (I. i. 16) and the drowsy scene in the Bowre of Bliss (FQ. II. v. 30), already cited. The unreality of Spenser's specific description is embellished by Wordsworth's very accurate and realistic/

realistic description.

> mid thy most desert woods astray
> With pensive step to measure my slow way,
> (164-5 A)

is noted by Wordsworth as having a resemblance, in part, to a passage from Petrarch, yet it sounds similar to the usual way in which he managed to compress the travels of Una, especially those travels she undertook in FQ. I. iii. 3. The passage cited from Petrarch,

> "Solo, e pensoso i piu deserti campi
> Vo misurando a passi tardi, e lenti." [1]

does translate approximately to what Wordsworth has himself written. Possibly he was attracted to Petrarch's lines because they reminded him of Spenser. Another example of the recollection force that Una had on Wordsworth is

> the else impervious gloom
> His burning eyes with fearful light illume.
> (186-7 A; 164-5 B)

This of course is a reminiscence, altered by the requirements of what Wordsworth was doing, of the adventure at the Den of Errour (FQ. I. i. 14-16), as well as a reminiscence of the description we are given of Belphoebe (FQ. II. iii. 23), where she is described, in part, in this way:

> In her faire eyes two living lamps did flame,
> Kindled above at th' hevenly makers light,
> And darted fyrie beames out of the same,
> So passing persant, and so wondrous bright,
> That quite bereav'd the rash beholders sight.
> (lines 1-5)

This/

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[1] PW, I, p.52.

This same passage is probably the source for a part of "Tintern Abbey".

> - The mind condemn'd, without reprieve, to go
> O'er life's long deserts with it's charge of woe
> (192-3 A; 167-8 B)

is a compressed reminiscence of what Spenser spun out to great length in "Daphnaida", especially lines 491ff. Alcyon's grief over the death of Daphne, which Spenser spreads over several hundreds of lines, is summed up in the section beginning with line 491 and resembles closely the situation written out by Wordsworth. There are other passages from the "Daphnaida" which have re-statements in Wordsworth, as the section on THE BORDERERS indicates. The poem, composed by Spenser probably in 1590, appears in all of the editions of Spenser's works which could possibly have been available to Wordsworth.

Memories of Spenser's women characters and their trials and tribulations appear again in Wordsworth's description of the Gypsy woman.

> - She solitary through the desert drear
> Spontaneous wanders, hand in hand with Fear.
> (199-200 A)

The description, which disappears in the 1849 text, recalls Una (FQ. I. ii. 3) specifically and generally, as well as the mis-adventures of Florimell (FQ. III. vii. 1-2). The 1849 text re-words the passage so that the picture is less poetically descriptive and more humanly descriptive. The change is for the better. The woman becomes the "Sole human tenant of the piny waste", who is forced to wander/

wander by "choice or doom". We see her specifically, not wandering as in a picture, but as "A cowering shape" who sits "beneath yon shaggy rock" "half hid in curling smoke!" The influence of blank verse seems appropriate as a reason for the alteration: even the rhymes falter at this point in the B text.

The influence of Spenser is strong in the early poems of Wordsworth, probably because the couplet forms Wordsworth adopted under the general influence from the eighteenth century allowed him greater scope for such borrowings while at the same time demanding from him a narrowness of established poetic diction. The next example, still looking at "Descriptive Sketches", is far more interesting as a borrowing which does not really belong to the same category as most of those listed before. Wordsworth is not simply looking for description in his borrowings here; rather, he and Spenser seem to have the same thought patterns in mind and it is on this thought pattern that Wordsworth based his borrowing.

> Devotion planted near,
> And, bending, water'd with the human tear,
> Soon fading "silent" from her upward eye,
> Unmov'd with each rude form of Danger nigh,
> Fix'd on the anchor left by him who saves
> Alike in whelming snows and roaring waves.
> (257-62 A; in altered form lines 204-7 B)

Several sections from THE FAERIE QUEENE seem to have contributed to this passage. The most obvious is the description of Speranza, the second of the three daughters of Caelia in the House of Holiness, about whom Spenser says (FQ. I. x. 14):

> Upon her arme a silver anchor lay,
> Whereon she leaned ever, as befell;
> And ever up to heven, as she did pray,
> Her stedfast eyes were bent, ne swarved other way.

Another/

Another contributing passage is FQ. I. x. 22, in the process of training Red-Crosse, when Speranza, to give Red-Crosse comfort teaches

> him how to take assured hold
> Upon her silver anchor, as was meet;
> Els had his sinnes, so great and manifold,
> Made him forget all that Fidelia told.
> In this distressed doubtful agony,
> When him his dearest Una did behold
> Disdeining life, desiring leave to dye,
> She found her selfe assayld with great perplexity.

Like the Catholic pilgrims in Wordsworth's poem, Red-Crosse and Una find consolation and patience in the anchor. The final three lines of the passage from Wordsworth are also reminiscent of the courage of Britomart in the House of Busyrane, FQ. III. xi. 40, and her watchfulness after the incident of the vanishing bed in Dolon's house, FQ. V. vi. 28.

> Before those hermit doors, that never know
> The face of traveller passing to and fro
> (299-300 A; altered
> form in 239-40 B)

is a recollection of FQ. I. i. 34. 1-4.

> A little lowly Hermitage it was,
> Downe in a dale, hard by a forests side,
> Far from resort of people that did pas
> In traveill to and froe:

Like the passage cited immediately above, this passage is closer in thought and wording to Wordsworth's original source in Spenser than are most of his allusions to Spenser.

Reading further along in the "Descriptive Sketches" we find still another compressed recollection of Spenserian description. In/

In this particular instance, the recollection is shifted from the kind of scene Spenser had placed it in to a pure description of Nature as Wordsworth saw it in his neo-classical mood.

'Till the Sun walking on his western field
Shakes from behind the clouds his flashing shield.
(336-7 A)

is Wordsworth's use of the descriptions Spenser gave to Arthur's shield (FQ. I. vii. 33-34) and his description of the effect of the shield when its covering veil was removed during the fight between the Prince and the giant Orgoglio and the Seven Headed Monster steed ridden by Duessa (FQ. I. viii. 19-21). The same image, in description of various shields, appears several times in Spenser.

Another example of Wordsworth's compression, this time in a slightly different vein, appears in

And savage Nature humbly joins the rite,
(554 A)

which recalls to mind the alteration in the behaviour of the Lion when he has seen Una (FQ. I. iii. 5-6) and the actions of the Satyrs toward Una when they rescue her from the ravages of Sansloy (FQ. I. vi. 11). An additional recollection might have been the scene between the Savage man and Calepine and Serena (FQ. VI. iv. 11). The Savage is probably a partial source of a part of "The Idiot Boy" as well, as I will discuss later.

Why does their sad remembrance cleave behind?
(623 A)

altered to

Why does their sad remembrance haunt the mind?
(519 B)

in/

in the 1849 text, recalls FQ. I. ix. 18

> And sad remembraunce now the Prince amoves
> With fresh desire his voyage to pursew:

as well as the general drift of Alcyon's tirades in "Daphnaida".

The passage beginning

> Soon flies the little joy to man allow'd
> And tears before him travel like a cloud.
> For come Diseases on, and Penury's rage,
> Labour, and Pain, and Grief, and joyless Age,
> And Conscience dogging close his bleeding way
> Cries out, and leads her Spectres to their prey,
> 'Till Hope-deserted, long in vain his breath
> Implores the dreadful untried sleep of Death.
> (636-43 A)

reminds us of the reaction of Red-Crosse to the rhetorical arguments of the hermit Despayre in the Cave of Despair, FQ. I. ix. 37-51, especially the elements of Despayre's lecture found in stanzas 38, 44, and 48-49. The 1849 version of the poem displays a very definite Christian turn of thought which would have been foreign to Wordsworth's frame of mind in 1793. The revised passage, which gives to the individual the power that Spenser gave to Una's action in saving Red-Crosse from the sin of taking his own life, reads as follows:

> Alas! the little joy to man allowed
> Fades like the lustre of an evening cloud;
> Or like the beauty in a flower installed,
> Whose season was, and cannot be recalled.
> Yet, when opprest by sickness, grief, or care,
> And taught that pain is pleasure's natural heir,
> We still confide in more than we can know;
> Death would be else the favorite friend of woe.
> (532-39 B)

There also appears in the final version a compression of the "fit speaches" of the Hermit to Serena and Prince Arthur's squire Timias after/

after they had been injured by the Blatant Beast, FQ. VI. vi. especially 14. Wordsworth suggests a source for several of the lines in the 1793 version as Virgil's GEORGICS, iii. 66-68 (de Selincourt's note, p. 328), but there is an equal claim for FQ. I. ix. especially 53, the speech Una delivered to Red-Crosse as she "snatcht the cursed knife" from his hands.

The final passage in the "Descriptive Sketches" to which I ascribe a specific Spenserian influence appears only in the A text of 1793. This recollection of Spenserian scenes, like so many others which appear in Wordsworth, is a composite picture, a compression of lengthy or, in some cases, several Spenserian passages. Wordsworth writes of the two serpents, Havoc and Chaos, which "wind And drag their length of deluge train behind" (line 697 A). The Spenserian sources are the Dragon of Errour (FQ. I. i. 15ff), the Dragon which Red-Crosse had to fight to free Una's parents from captivity (FQ. I. xi. 11), and the Dragon Monster the Prince fought to free Belge from her enemies (FQ. V. xi. 28ff).

"An Evening Walk" and "Descriptive Sketches" are principally poems in the neo-classical manner, especially in the first versions published, in 1793. Wordsworth's revisions tended to exchange description for thought - in his letter to C. Grace Godwin he says that Spenser has too much description - and the 1849 versions are, on the whole, weightier poems. The elements of Spenser that appear in the initial forms do not entirely disappear in the last versions but those/

those Spenserian sources used purely for descriptive passages do tend to disappear. The passages in the poems where Wordsworth has compressed Spenser's ideas into pronouncements of his own usually survive, probably because they carry with them a far larger philosophic burden than do the strictly descriptive passages. It is interesting to note that Spenser was a strong influence on the early poetry of Wordsworth as a source for descriptive phrases and pictures; yet, as Wordsworth grew older, he looked upon Spenser as a philosophic poet to whom he could turn for consolation and help, and he admired him not for his beautiful pictures but for his "earnestness and devotedness".[1]

There are several additional Spenserian passages in Volume I of the de Selincourt edition of Wordsworth's Works, although they do not appear as frequently in the later poems in the volume as they do in the first two treated. "Guilt and Sorrow", written 1791-4, and published in part in 1798 as the "Female Vagrant", is written in Spenserian stanzas, with a fair degree of success in the construction of the stanza form. One might expect a number of allusions to Spenser in a poem of this nature, especially since it is in Spenser's stanza, but there are only a very few. De Selincourt, following Thomas Hutchinson and followed by Helen Darbishire, discusses the use of the stanza in "Guilt and Sorrow".

> "W.'s choice of metre for the poem was doubtless influenced by the popularity of the Spenserian stanza for narrative in the eighteenth century, but there are not a few places where the direct influence of Spenser can be traced, e.g. 'finny drove/

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[1] Hemans, MEMORIALS, II, 92; cited in Peacock, p. 361.

> drove' (FQ. III. viii. 29), 'with anger vehement' (FQ. I. xi. 26), 'as well behoved', 'cold stony horror did his senses bound'; and the revilings of the churl in Stanza LIV recall Spenser's churls."[1]

Professor de Selincourt seems to have missed most of the Spenserian influences in the poems already discussed, while "Guilt and Sorrow", written in Spenser's stanza, recalled his attention from the texts he was editing to the possibilities of direct influence. The first influence noted by de Selincourt, "finny drove", appears in stanza XXIII of the 1798 version called the "Female Vagrant", but does not appear in the final version of the poem. Wordsworth has "finny flood" rather than the specific Spenser wording, however. "With anger vehement" appears in line 468 of the 1842 revised and enlarged version of the poem; "cold stony horror did his senses bound" from FQ. I. vi. 37. 3, ("stony horrour all her sences fild") is line 184 of the poem; "as well behoved", FQ. VI. xx. 1 ("Him well behoved so"), is in line 546. There are at least two other, and I think perhaps stronger, recollections of Spenser in the poem. The first appears in a MS version, lines 154-5, printed on p. 102 by de Selincourt:

> Till then as if those demons dogged his road
> He fled, and often backward cast his face,

which recalls several passages in Spenser, the most obvious being the description of Sir Terwin as he fled the Cave of Despair, FQ. I. ix. 21:

> Still as he fledd his eye was backward cast,
> As if his feare still followed him behynd;

Florimell/

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[1] PW, I, p. 334.

Florimell flees from the "griesly foster" in FQ. III. i. 16, and

Still as she fledd her eye she backward threw.

FQ. V. viii. 4. 9. tells about the flight from fear of Samient, who is being rudely chased by two knights,

And ever as she rode her eye was backeward bent.

The second Spenserian reflection appears in stanza LXIV, lines 571-2:

Careful hands apply.
Nature reviving, with a deep-drawn sigh

which is reminiscent of several incidents in Spenser when people are restored to life by a kind of rudimentary first aid, incidents which take place not only in the FAERIE QUEENE but also in "Daphnaida". The first incident in Spenser concerns Una, who has collapsed in shock upon seeing the Dwarf with Red-Crosse's armour:

At last, recovering hart, he does begin
To rubb her temples, and to chaufe her chin,
And everie tender part does tosse and turne:
So hardly he the flitted life does win
Unto her native prison to retourne;
Then gins her grieved ghost thus to lament and mourne:
(FQ. I. vii. 21)

A more striking example appears in FQ. VI. iii. 28, where Spenser describes Calepine's work which resulted in the reviving of Serena after she had been injured by the Blatant Beast:

So well he did his busie paines apply,
That the faint sprite he did revoke againe
To her fraile mansion of mortality:

There are four extant MSS of "Guilt and Sorrow", denoted by

de/

de Selincourt as MS 1, MS 2, MS 3, and MS 4. MSS 3 and 4 were written in 1842; MSS 1 and 2 belong to 1794 and 1798. One lengthy section of MS 1 was never published until de Selincourt published it, pp. 338-341. This unpublished segment contains stanzas numbered 47-61, with several stanzas missing. Much of this concluding section is, according to de Selincourt, inspired more "by Milton's great political utterances in prose and verse than by Godwin".[1] The stanza copied out below, however, is closer to Spenser than to either Milton or Godwin, and is another fine example of the compressed reminiscence type of allusion that marks Wordsworth's works. The stanza is number 61, and it appears on pp. 340-41 of de Selincourt's edition, volume I.

> Heroes of Truth, pursue your march, up tear
> The oppressors' dungeon from its deepest base;
> High o'er the towers of Pride undaunted rear
> Resistless in your might th' Herculean mace
> Of Reason, let foul Error's monstrous race
> Dragged from their dens start at the light with pain
> And die! pursue your toils till not a trace
> Be left on earth of Superstition's reign
> Save that eternal pile which frowns on Sarum's plain.

The "Heroes of Truth" resemble Red-Crosse and Arthur, both of whom assisted Una in her struggles. The Prince continues after Book I in the struggle against oppressors. The second line of the stanza recalls the dungeon of Proteus where Florimell was "in sad thraldomes chayne" (FQ. IV. xi. 3ff) and the dungeon into which Red-Crosse was thrown by Orgoglio (FQ. I. vii. and I.viii). Lines 3-5 of the stanza recall Talus (FQ. V. ii) and various giants who held their "hideous clubs aloft". Lines 5-7 are strongly reminiscent of the dragon/

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[1] PW, I, p. 341.

dragon of Error, and her brood, which Red-Crosse encountered in FQ. I. i. 15-16, and the presumably Catholic Church inspired monster destroyed by Prince Arthur in the Belge episode, FQ. V. xi. 26. The final three lines recall several things, among them the destruction of Munera's Castle by Talus and Artegal in FQ. V. ii. 28, and the general purposes of Spenser's allegorical knights. In a sense, this single stanza is a kind of summation of what Spenser says throughout the six books of the FAERIE QUEENE. It is, I think, a remarkable stanza and a remarkable instance of Wordsworth's ability to compress thought into a much smaller scope than what he had originally found it in.

THE BORDERERS, printed with variations in Volume I, does not reflect much Spenserian influence, partly because of Wordsworth's state of mind at the time of composition and partly because of the dramatic form he was writing in. It is interesting to observe, in the drama, that a portion of the action was originally written in the stanza of Spenser in an unpublished poem called "Fragment of a Gothic Tale", published by de Selincourt in the Appendix to Volume I. There are two passages in THE BORDERERS which seem to be Spenserian, however - lines 1077-83 and lines 2312-2321. The first appears in a speech by Oswald:

> Wisdom, if Justice speak the word, beats down
> The giant's strength; and, at the voice of Justice,
> Spares not the worm. The giant and the worm -
> She weighs them in one scale. The wiles of woman,
> And craft of age, seducing reason, first
> Made weakness a protection, and obscured
> The moral shapes of things.

Several/

Several allusions to Spenser appear here. First of all we are reminded of the adventure between the Giant and Artegal and Talus, FQ. V., especially canto ii, stanza 49, where Talus shoulders the Giant off the hill to his destruction, and then turns his attention to the rabble. The four lines beginning "The wiles of woman" remind us of Duessa and Archimago and the tricks they played in their attempts to destroy various characters in the FAERIE QUEENE. Despayre, for example, in FQ. I. ix. 31, is described as being able to beguile the good sense and reason of man, and the description of Red-Crosse's reaction to Despayre's speeches reinforces the idea (FQ. I. ix. 48ff).

The second section from THE BORDERERS appears in the final speech of the play, delivered by Marmaduke and designed to outline his punishment for letting others beguile his mind.

> a wanderer must I go,
> The Spectre of that innocent Man, my guide.
> No human ear shall ever hear me speak;
> No human dwelling ever give me food,
> Or sleep, or rest: but over waste and wild
> In search of nothing, that this earth can give,
> But expiation, will I wander on -
> A Man by pain and thought compelled to live,
> Yet loathing life - till anger is appeased
> In Heaven, and Mercy gives me leave to die.

The thought, and even the wording in a vague way, is reminiscent of Alcyon's speeches in "Daphnaida", 372-91 and 456-76.[1] There is also a hint or two of the advice given to Timias and Serena by the Old Hermit as a way to cure their wounds caused by the Blatant Beast, FQ. VI. vi. 6-14, especially in such lines as the first four lines of stanza/

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[1] cf. Chapter V, this study, for additional material on "Daphnaida" and THE BORDERERS.

stanza 7:

> For in your selfe your onely helpe doth lie
> To heale your selves, and must proceed alone
> From your owne will to cure your maladie.
> Who can him cure that will be cur'd of none?

There is little in the section entitled "Poems Referring to the Period of Childhood" to remind us of Spenser. "The Pet-Lamb" has a line which reads

> A snow-white mountain-lamb with a Maiden at its side
> (line 4)

which is a reflection of FQ. I. i. 4, where we see Una,

> And by her, in a line, a milkewhite lambe she lad.

Line 5 of "To H. C. Six Years Old" has the phrase "Thou faery voyager!" which could be a slight recollection of a number of things in Spenser. "The Poet's Dream: Sequel to 'The Norman Boy'" has the following lines:

> and his eyes, upraised to sue for grace,
> With soft illumination cheered the dimness of that place.
> (lines 11-12)

which recall Una and other of the female characters Spenser drew.

In a discussion of Wordsworth's early poetry, de Selincourt says that "The most noticeable stylistic trick of Wordsworth's early poems is the continued use of repetition, partly, perhaps, caught from Spenser, partly due to a tentative feeling after his subjects as he writes".[1] The suggestion that Wordsworth's use of Spenser is a "stylistic trick", as an attempt to provide acceptable embellishments to his poems, is, I think, a valid suggestion. Abbie Potts' contention/

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[1] Ernest de Selincourt, THE EARLY WORDSWORTH (Oxford, 1936), p. 27.

contention that Wordworth would have been familiar, in school, with "the Platonic assumptions in the hymns of Spenser," and would have been able to "discover the cosmology behind Spenser's pseudo-Aristotelian romance"[1] is probably correct, but it is risky granting the implied intellectual maturity to the youthful poet that the statement suggests. Wordsworth would still be seeing Spenser through the medium of Beattie, of Thomson, and would still be working his way through surface awarenesses toward the far more substantial poetry that followed during the years after THE BORDERERS.

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[1] Abbie Findlay Potts, WORDSWORTH'S PRELUDE (Ithica, New York, 1953), p. 87.

## "The Second Phase"

"For youthful faults ripe virtues shall atone."
"Artegal and Elidure"

The second volume of Wordsworth's POETICAL WORKS contains the "Poems Founded on the Affections", "Poems on the Naming of Places", "Poems of the Fancy", and "Poems of the Imagination". In addition, de Selincourt prints seven of Wordsworth's more important Prefaces and other critical prose writings. The majority of these poems belong to the years 1796-1807, the period during which Wordsworth achieved his own perfection. The principal exceptions to these dates are found in the "Poems of the Imagination". The poems in Volume II tend to be less directly under a Spenserian influence than the poems of Volume I, i.e., Wordsworth uses fewer specific borrowings and allusions. There is, however, and increased use of the "compressed" recollection of Spenser's works. It is through the use of these compressed recollections that Wordsworth achieves what Hartman calls "his unique style, in which metaphor (transference) is a generalized structure rather than a special verbal figure..."[1] Hartman also analyses "The distinct sense of horizontal infinity" which "is produced in part by Wordsworth's use of Spenserian features,"[2] a feature which Wordsworth, in a letter to Landor in 1824, touches on. Wordsworth admits in the letter his liking for a poetry "where things are lost in each other, and limits vanish, and aspirations are raised".[3] Supporting evidence for this alteration in Wordsworth's use of Spenser as a source is provided by Abbie Potts in/

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[1] Geoffrey H. Hartman, WORDSWORTH'S POETRY 1787-1814 (New Haven and London, 1964, Preface, p. xi.

[2] Hartman, p. 119.

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in her discussion of the influence of Spenser's "Epithalamion" and "Prothalamion" on the Intimations Ode. She suggests that the mature Wordsworth - and he had arrived at his poetic maturity during the period under consideration - was able to take suggestions of figures, ideas, and ideals from Spenser and convert them to his own use, not only using them for specific points of reference but also as a kind of background reinforcement. Wordsworth would understand that his readers, and he knew his readers well, would see the relationship between the characters and events in his poems and the characters and events in Spenser's poems.[1] As I suggested earlier, as Wordsworth developed both maturity and confidence in his poetic practices, he was able to weave Spenserian allusions into his work in a way that his inexperience - and his neo-classical training - had denied to him. In the poetry of Volume II we find Wordsworth has become a thoroughly competent and professional poet and craftsman who understands perfectly the tools of his trade. More importantly, he has arrived at an understanding of both himself as a poet and of the poetic past of Britain.

The previous chapter suggests a number of compressed allusions to Spenser by Wordsworth, not all of them successful as poetry: for example, the MS 1 stanza from "Guilt and Sorrow", beginning "Heroes of Truth...". When he composed that stanza, Wordsworth's deep emotionalism had not yet been tempered by the "thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears," thoughts which, when they matured, provided/

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[1] Abbie Findlay Potts, WORDSWORTH'S 'PRELUDE', pp. 290-304.

provided him with the power to write pure poetry which assembled together all that he saw, all that he knew, and all that he experienced. The change in Wordsworth's appreciation of Spenser as a source for his own poetry is discernible in the poems of Volume II. He was now aware that there was much to be gained by simply suggesting a reminiscence of Spenser, just as Spenser understood how much was to be gained by simply suggesting a recollection of Ovid and Virgil. The change in Wordsworth's appreciation is partly explained by the categories of the published poems, partly by his efforts toward achieving what he said poetry ought to be and to do in the 1800 Preface, and partly, and most importantly, by the fact that Wordsworth had become a poet in his own right and not simply a versifier.

"The Brothers", the first poem in the series of "Poems Founded on the Affections", contains at least two references to Spenser's "Colin Clouts Come Home Again", especially the descriptions Spenser gives us of Ralegh and of the sea voyage they both took to England which resulted in the publication of the first three books of THE FAERIE QUEENE. The first allusion appears in lines 45-46:

> and he in his heart
> Was half a shepherd on the stormy seas.

This is a recollection of Spenser's title for Ralegh, "the Shepheard of the Ocean by name" (CCCHA, 66). Spenser, writing in the guise of a shepherd, would naturally define all things in shepherd terms; Wordsworth, writing about a shepherd turned sailor, would have remembered/

remembered Spenser's descriptions in a poem he certainly was familiar with. The second allusion comes at lines 61-63:

> in the bosom of the deep,
> Saw mountains; saw the forms of sheep that grazed
> On verdant hills - with dwellings among trees...

Wordsworth appears to have been half-consciously recalling the Shepheard of the Ocean's description of Cynthia's watery domain (CCCHA, 236-63). The Shepheard of the Ocean was speaking metaphorically of fish and other sea creatures; Wordsworth was describing the Calenture. But there is no denying the verbal similarities. The half-conscious, or unconscious, recollections are explored in Chapter VII. The feeling of brotherly affection between Spenser and Ralegh probably was in the back of Wordsworth's mind as he wrote his poem about the rustic boy and his sailor brother. It is an interesting parallel, not only because of the Spenser-Ralegh association but also because of the relationship between Wordsworth, the rustic, and his brother John, the sailor.

The next reference to Spenser appears in "Artegal and Elidure", and is noted by de Selincourt.[1]

> Who never tasted grace, and goodness ne'er had felt.
> (16)

The passage from Spenser from which this is taken is

> hideous Giants....
> That never tasted grace, nor goodnesse felt;

The lines are from FQ. II. x. 7. The name of the eldest son, Artegal, is taken from history, probably also the source for Spenser's/

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[1] PW, II, p. 469.

Spenser's Artegal. It is curious to note that the Artegal of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Milton, and Wordsworth is the recipient of gentle justice rather than the dispenser of firm justice as he is pictured in Spenser. A dozen lines later in Wordsworth's poem is the passage

> But, intermingled with the generous seed,
> Grew many a poisonous weed;
> Thus fares it still with all that takes its birth
> From human care, or grows upon the breast of earth.
> (29-32)

Wordsworth was recalling passages spoken by Alcyon, in "Daphnaida", and passages descriptive of the Garden of Proserpina (FQ. II. vii), the delights and blemishes of Phaedria's island in the Idle Lake (FQ. II. vi), and parts of the Bowre of Bliss (FQ. II. xii) and the Garden of Adonis (FQ. III. vi). Wordsworth's great skill in compressing numerous familiar thoughts from Spenser into his own work is amply demonstrated by the short passage above. The reader would remember the meaning of Spenser's descriptions and ideas of comparison and contrast would enrich by allusion what Wordsworth had written. It is very skillfully contrived and executed.

The stanza beginning "Hence, and how soon!" and telling the story of Guendolene's revenge (lines 33-40) tells the same story that Milton told and that Spenser told in FQ. II. x. 17-19. De Selincourt notes the debt to Spenser, II, p. 469. Lines 49-50, a general reference to Geoffrey of Monmouth's Chronicle, have a specific/

specific reference to Spenser:

> There too we read of Spenser's fairy themes,
> And those that Milton loved in youthful years.

Milton's debt to Geoffrey is principally found in his History of England.[1] Line 206,

> For youthful faults ripe virtues shall atone

calls to mind the progression of Red-Crosse toward fulfillment of himself as the Champion of Truth in the first book of the FAERIE QUEENE. It is, however, a suspect allusion.

"A Farewell" is described by Wordsworth in a letter to Mary Hutchinson (June 14 1802) as "a Spenserian poem". In the seventh stanza he had used the words "primrose vest", but now explains to Mary that this will not do -

> I should never have thought of such an expression but in a Spenserian poem, Spenser having many such expressions - But here it cannot stand, if it were only on account of "saffron coat", and expression beautiful and appropriate. Let it stand thus:
> Here with its primroses the steep rock's breast
> Glittered at evening like a starry sky -
> and thus the beautiful line is preserved.'[2]

Why is the poem "Spenserian"? Mainly, one imagines, because of its portrayal of a scene of deep seclusion -

> dreams of flowers,
> And wild notes warbled among leafy bowers.

One remembers that Dorothy Wordsworth, in her Journal in 1803, associates/

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[1] de Selincourt draws specific attention to passages in Milton's History of England to which Wordsworth was indebted, PW, II, 468-69.

[2] Letter to Mary Hutchinson, June 14, 1802. Cited by de Selincourt in his notes to poem, PW, II, p. 470, printed in EL, p. 305.

associates a secluded cabin in the Highlands of Scotland with Spenserian scenes. Then, too, the tempo of the poem is deliberate and quiet, moving at the "soft pace" which Wordsworth associated with Spenser - the phrase itself, of course, occurring in this poem at line 48:

> till we return be slow
> And travel with the year at a soft pace.

The Spenserian associations would be reinforced by the fact that, as Wordsworth told Miss Fenwick, the poem was written just before Dorothy and he went to fetch Mary from Gallow-hill.[1] He constantly associated Mary with Una.

The phrase "saffron coat", mentioned in the letter to Mary, is itself one that would naturally occur in a wedding-poem. Ovid's Hymen, clad in a saffron-coloured robe - croceo velatus amictu - was a threadbare commonplace, available even to Mrs. Elton in Jane Austen's EMMA (chapter 36).[2] Wordsworth excludes any taint of cliché from the phrase by using it of the "bright gowan and marsh-marigold", personifying the scene with the same kind of tact that Spenser shows in (for example) the Temple of Venus:

> Thee goddesse, thee the winds, the clouds doe feare,
> And when thou spredst thy mantle forth on hie,
> The waters play and pleasant lands appeare,
> And heavens laugh, and al the world shews joyous cheare.
> (FQ. IV. x. 44)

The expression "saffron coat" is in line 21 of Wordsworth's poem, while/

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[1] PW, II, 470.

[2] Mr. Carnall pointed out to me Austen's use of this phrase.

while the lines he suggests as an alternative to "primrose vest" appear, with slight changes from the version in the letter, in lines 53-54 of the published text. One can sense Spenserian phrases and reminiscences in the poem, but none seem concrete enough to be conscious recollections.

"Stanzas, Written in My Pocket-Copy of Thomson's 'Castle of Indolence'" is written in Spenserian stanzas, and gives character sketches of Wordsworth, in the first four stanzas, and Coleridge, in the remainder. De Selincourt, following Thomas Hutchinson, notes the resemblance between the picture of himself that Wordsworth wrote into the poem and the Minstrel in Beattie's MINSTREL - a poem Wordsworth knew well.[1] Wordsworth's style in this poem, as de Selincourt points out, is closer to Thomson than it is to Spenser.[2] There is liitle apart from the stanza form itself to which we can ascribe a Spenserian influence. Lines 25-6

> Where apple-trees in blossom made a bower,
> Retired in that sunshiny shade he lay

might be a faint recollection of Spenser, or of Thomson, both of whom make use of this kind of image. Lines 71-72

> Or butterfly sate down, they were, I ween,
> As pleased as if the same had been a Maiden-queen

could be a remembrance of the luxuriousness of several of Spenser's garden and rustic pictures. "Maiden-queen", although a not uncommon phrase, appears in FQ. V. viii. 17. 2, where Spenser describes Mercilla as "a mayden Queene of high renowne", and in Spenser's/

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[1] PW, II, pp. 470-71.

[2] PW, II, p. 471.

Spenser's description of his bride-to-be in "Epithalamion", 158. Mercilla is as gentle and kind as one expects the people in Wordsworth's poem to have felt under the benevolent beauty of Nature.

The short poem "To ---" has a very specific borrowing from Spenser in the final stanza:

> Then shall love teach some virtuous Youth
> 'To draw, out of the object of his eyes,'
> The while on thee they gaze in simple truth,
> Hues more exalted, 'a refined Form',
> That dreads not age, nor suffers from the worm,
> And never dies.

The source of this passage is Spenser's "Hymne in Honour of Beautie", lines 211-15:

> But they which love indeede, looke otherwise,
> With pure regard and spotlesse true intent,
> Drawing out of the object of their eyes
> A more refyned forme which they present
> Unto their mind, voide of all blemishment.[1]

We are told, in an I.F. note, that the poem was "Prompted by the undue importance attached to personal beauty by some dear friends of mine".[2] De Selincourt cites Dowden in suggesting that the poem was addressed to Dora.[3] Wordsworth's use of the "Hymne in Honour of Beautie" demonstrates the depth of his perception into his borrowings. He is almost always exactly accurate and precise in his use of borrowed phrases; they are always pertinent. There are passages in the "Hymne in Honour of Hevenly Beautie" which would have been just as useful, as phrases in general keeping, but passages from this poem would not have been in keeping with the purpose Wordsworth himself declares/

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[1] de Selincourt notes this debt, PW, II, p. 473.

[2] Cited, PW, II, 473.

[3] PW, II, 473.

declares, in the I.F. note quoted on the preceding page, to be behind the composition of the poem.

The little poem "To ... (Let other bards)" is another statement in Wordsworth's continual association of his wife Mary and Spenser's most beautiful creation, Una. An I.F. note tells us that the poem is "On Mary Wordsworth".[1] The poem prettily enough alludes to both Milton and Spenser, the beginning two lines to Milton. The final stanza, lines 9-12, are a compressed allusion to the relationship that developed into love between Una and her Red-Crosse knight. Una never appears without her sombre clothing until the final canto of the first book of the FAERIE QUEENE, when, after the death of the dragon and the release of the castle from its dangers, she comes to Red-Crosse, shy and demure as a bride, dressed in white. They are united "heart with heart in concord" because together they have, on the human level, successfully accomplished their duties. Wordsworth's lines sum this up charmingly.

> True beauty dwells in deep retreats,
> Whose veil is unremoved
> Till heart with heart in concord beats,
> And the lover is beloved.

"The Last of the Flock" has two close echoes of Spenser's lines.

> Of Sheep I numbered a full score,
> And every year increased my store.
> (29-30)

is an echo of FQ. IX. ix. 21. 7:

> My lambes doe every yeare increase their score;

The/

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[1] Wordsworth's note quoted PW, II, pp. 96 and 485.

The story of Meliboee's successful finding of himself and the peacefulness which marks his life is an interesting antipole to the seemingly unavoidable tragedy of the shepherd in Wordsworth's poem. It is almost as if Wordsworth were remembering the early years of Meliboee, which he spent in "Princes gardin" and which Spenser describes for us in FQ. VI. ix. 24-5. Line 83,

> For daily with my growing store

again reminds us of Meliboee, FQ. VI. ix. 21. 4-5, where Spenser has him telling of his life in this way:

> The store of cares doth follow riches store.
> The litle that I have growes dayly more....

Lines 36-38 of "Vandracour and Julia" are reminiscent of at least two events in the FAERIE QUEENE:

> his present mind
> Was under fascination; - he beheld
> A vision, and adored the thing he saw

reminds us of Prince Arthur's reaction to his dream of Gloriana, told to Una and Red-Crosse in FQ. I. ix. 35, and the reaction of the wounded squire Timias when he awakens from his swoon and sees Belphebe tending his injuries, FQ. III. v. 34-35. A third possibility is the story of Britomart and her mirror-vision of Artegal, in FQ. III. ii. 22ff.

Wordsworth's "Idiot Boy", Johnny, and the Savage in FQ. VI.iv. 11ff. have in common the sounds they make: Johnny with his lips that "burr" and the Savage, whose sound is of "a soft murmure and confused sound". Like the Savage, Johnny knows and loves the woods and natural/

natural places where he finds himself. I suspect that Wordsworth was drawing from observation, not literary allusion, however, when he wrote "The Idiot Boy". Lines 407-8,

> The Pony, Betty, and her Boy,
> Wind slowly through the woody dale;

is closer to the sort of descriptive passages one finds in Spenser.

An interesting conjecture might be made about "The Armenian Lady's Love", which was suggested to Wordsworth by Kenelm Henry Digby's ORLANDUS.[1] Digby and Wordsworth became food friends, partly as a consequence of Wordsworth's interest in Digby's books on chivalry. It is intriguing to imagine, and I stress the word imagine, that Wordsworth was drawn to Digby and his chivalric studies because he remembered the earlier Sir Kenelm Digby and his essays on Spenser.[2] This remains, however, a conjecture. I have not been able to establish that Wordsworth was particularly familiar with Sir Kenelm Digby's work. The poem itself is closer to the ARABIAN NIGHTS than it is to any of Spenser's work; it is closer still to ORLANDUS.

The selection of poems entitled POEMS OF THE FANCY is, oddly enough, rather barren of Spenserian allusions. "To the Small Celandine" has a line "Men that keep a mighty rout!" (line 12), which employs one of Spenser's favorite phrases to describe groups of people/

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[1] PW, II. p. 491. Wordsworth also mentions his debt in a prefatory note to the poem.

[2] Sir Kenelm Digby wrote an essay entitled "Observations on the 22nd Stanza in the 9th Canto of the 2d. Book of Spencers Faery Queene," published in 1643, and a discourse "Concerning Edmund Spencer". It is unlikely that Wordsworth could have known the second; it was first published by E. W. Bligh in his SIR KENELM DIGBY AND HIS VENETIA, 1932, from Brit. Mus. ADD. MS. 41, 846.

people. FQ. V. viii. 50 has the phrase "warlike Rout", and FQ. II. ix. 15 describes the "raskall rout" which blocked the entrance to the House of Temperance. Wordsworth's use of the word can be compared to both of these. "To the Daisy", one of the gentlest of Wordsworth's poems, reflects FQ. II. vii. 19 ('But safe I have them kept in secret mew') in line 25:

Be violets in their secret mews.

De Selincourt, in a note to the poem, says "Miss Darbishire notes the debt to Spenser. F.Q. II. vii. 19..."[1] The expression is used more than once by Spenser, and one might look as well to the flight of the Witch, FQ. III. vii. 4. 3, "into a secret mew" to escape the anger of the Carle. A passage in "The Danish Boy" seems almost a picture of Spenser as Wordsworth often tended to see him:

> And yet he warbles songs of war,
> That seem like songs of love,
> For calm and gentle is his mien;
> (52-54)

Finally, from the POEMS OF THE FANCY, we may cite lines 175-77 of "The Waggoner",

> ... the ANCIENT WOMAN,
> Covering beside her rifted cell,
> As if intent on magic spell; -

The lines remind us of the Witch in FQ. III. vii. 6, to whose hut Florimell flees in her escape from the Forester. There are also slight tones of Archimago, FQ. I. i. 36, as he prepares to torment the sleep of Una and Red-Crosse, who have mistakenly accepted his hospitality.

POEMS/

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[1] PW, II, p. 491.

POEMS OF THE IMAGINATION provide a more fertile ground for allusions to Spenser. Why this should be such a productive source for allusions to Spenser can be adduced from letters Wordsworth wrote to Lady Beaumont, Sir George Beaumont, J. K. Miller, and Robert Gillies, and from Mrs. Heman's statement that Wordsworth loved Spenser for his "earnestness and devotedness".[1] To Lady Beaumont, in 1807, he wrote, "... the voice which is the voice of my Poetry without Imagination cannot be heard",[2] And to Gillies, in 1814, that "... imagination almost always transcends reality."[3] In a letter to Beaumont, in 1805, in a discussion of Southey's MADOC, he speaks of "... the highest gifts of the poet's mind, imagination in the true sense of the word, and knowledge of human nature and the human heart."[4] Finally, in a letter to Miller, in 1831, he tells us that "... it is the habit of my mind inseparably to connect loftiness of imagination with that humility of mind which is best taught in Scripture."[5] Spenser's religious allegory, which Wordsworth would have recognized as an attempt "to inculcate his (the poet's) lessons, not formally, but by implication...,"[6] would/

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[1] Mrs. Hemans, MEMORIALS, II, p. 92. Cited in Peacock, p. 361.

[2] Letter to Lady Beaumont, May 21, 1807. MY, I, p. 126.

[3] Letter to Robert P. Gillies, Nov. 23, 1814. MY, II, p. 611.

[4] Letter to Beaumont, June 3, 1805. EL, p. 498.

[5] Letter to J. K. Miller, Dec. 17, 1831. LY, II, p. 592.

[6] Letter to Dora, 1840. LY, III, p. 1019.

would fulfill the agreement reached between Wordsworth and Aubrey de Vere on what poetry ought to do: that it ought "... to put forth great truths, full-forced and singly, without trying to adjust the balance between opposite truths."[1] To Wordsworth, the Imagination was a complex, distinctive, and necessary tool for the poet, used so that "ordinary things should be presented to the mind in an unusual aspect;..."[2] This concept appears in the 1800 Preface; by 1815, he was able to discuss the meaning he had applied to the word "Imagination" at greater and more comprehensive length in the Preface to a new edition of his poems. He suggests that Imagination and Fancy together are used "to modify, to create, and to associate."[3] He quotes W. Taylor on the Imagination as the point from which he will create his meaning for the word: "Imagination is the power of depicting..." and "... is formed by patient observation."[4] The Imagination, as Wordsworth has used it to describe the poems in this section, means more than a kind of elevated memory; rather it "is a word of higher import, denoting operations of the mind upon those objects (images in the mind of absent external objects), and processes of creation or of composition, governed by certain fixed laws."[5] In essence, for Wordsworth, the "processes of imagination are carried on either/

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[1] Wilfred Ward, Aubrey DE VERE, p. 69. Quoted Peacock, 82.

[2] Wordsworth, "Preface to the Second Edition...'Lyrical Ballads (1800)'", PW, II, p. 386.

[3] Wordsworth, "Preface to the Edition of 1815." PW, II, p. 432.

[4] From Taylor's BRITISH SYNONYMS DISCRIMINATED, quoted by Wordsworth in 1815 Preface. PW, II, p. 435.

[5] Preface, 1815, PW, II, p. 436.

either by conferring additional properties upon an object, or abstracting from it some of those which it actually possesses, and thus enabling it to re-act upon the mind which hath performed the process, like a new existence."[1] In addition to the powers Imagination possesses to endow or modify, it "also shapes and creates... By innumerable processes; and in none does it more delight than in that of consolidating numbers into unity, and dissolving and separating unity into number, - alternations proceeding from, and governed by, a sublime consciousness of the soul in her own mighty and almost divine powers."[2] To the prophetic and lyrical parts of the Holy Scriptures and Milton's works, he adds Spenser's as part of The grand store-houses of enthusiastic and meditative Imagination;..."[3] Of Spenser he says that he "maintained his freedom by aid of his allegorical spirit, at one time inciting him to create persons out of abstractions; and, at another, by a superior effort of genius, to give the universality and permanence of abstractions to his human beings, by means of attributes and emblems that belong to the highest moral truths and the purest sensations, - of which his character of Una is a glorious example."[4] Believing as he did that the faculty of the Imagination was essential, and looking to Spenser as one of the strongest examples of the poetical function of the Imagination/

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[1] Preface, 1815, PW, II, 438.

[2] Preface, 1815, PW, II 438-39.

[3] Preface, 1815, PW, II, 439.

[4] Preface, 1815, PW, II, 440.

Imagination, it is logical that we should find Wordsworth turning to Spenser, among other sources, for allusions in the poems belonging to this particular category. And we do find allusions to Spenser in a number of the poems. The allusions are frequently more of a compressed recollection rather than a direct citation, but they are, I believe, unmistakable.

"Airey-Force Valley", composed when Wordsworth was sixty-six, is a word picture almost completely based on the faculty of the Imagination as discussed above. It also is strongly reminiscent of portions of Spenser, especially the descriptions we are given of the Bowre of Blisse, FQ. II. v. 29-31, and FQ. II. xii. 50-62. It is interesting to observe Wordsworth taking what is essentially an evil element in Spenser (Spenser, like Milton, was addicted to giving greater pictorial glory to evil than to good) and converting it to purposes not at all in line with the original. A number of the compressed allusions discussed in the previous chapter and in this chapter demonstrate this.

Lines 54-56 of 'Nutting",

> Then, dearest Maiden, move along these shades
> In gentleness of heart; with gentle hand
> Touch - for there is a spirit in the woods.

are probably an unconscious reflection of the plea of Fradubio to Red-Crosse in FQ. I. ii. 31. I have included the poem here rather than in Chapter VI because there is a strong enough case to suggest that Wordsworth was probably consciously drawing on Spenser in the

poem/

poem. There are several verbal echoes which are Spenserian - "a bower beneath whose leaves," "Where fairy water-breaks do murmur on For ever," "the murmur and the murmuring sound" of the stream, "the shady nook," and the sense of pain he felt at desecrating the trees.

De Selincourt and Darbishire both note the next allusion to Spencer, in "Beggars", where Wordsworth has written of "a weed of glorious feature". The source is "Muiopotmos",[1] 213, "To feed on flowres, and weeds of glorious feature". Darbishire also calls attention to FQ. I. vii. 39, "Can hart so plungd in sea of sorrows deep" as a source for line 14 in Wordsworth's poem, "Pouring out sorrows like a sea". In his later revisions, Wordsworth discarded the line because its rhyme clashed with a later and more useful line.[2] Wordsworth perhaps was led to the association by the picture he himself paints in the stanza following the one which contains the allusion, where he describes the boys "at play, Chasing a crimson butterfly;" in fact, almost all he says about the two boys reminds one of the delightful creature painted in Spenser's poem. For example, in line 36, Wordsworth describes them as hunting "their fluttering game o'er rock and level green", and suggests that they should be given wings themselves. They flit, dart, and finally fly away. The "Sequel to the Foregoing", composed some fifteen years later, has the phrase "... the daedal earth/

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[1] PW, II, 509.

[2] William Wordsworth, POEMS IN TWO VOLUMES, 1807, edited by Helen Darbishire (Oxford: 1935), p. 377.

earth" (line 2), which de Selincourt suggests perhaps comes from FQ. IV. x. 45:[1]

> Then doth the daedale earth throw forth to thee
> Out of her fruitfull lap aboundant flowres.

"Daedal" appears also in FQ. III. Introduction 2. However, Wordsworth may well have been familiar with the original use of the phrase in Lucretius. One feels that the "Sequel..." is remembering not only "Beggars" and FAERIE QUEENE, but "Muiopotmos" as well. The concluding lines,

> Kind Spirits! may we not believe
> That they, so happy and so fair
> Through your sweet influence, and the care
> Of pitying Heaven, at least were free
> From touch of deadly injury?
> Destined, whate'er their earthly doom,
> For mercy and immortal bloom?
> (36-42)

are the plea Spenser seems to make for the "luckless Clarion", who has been "misled" by "cruell Fate or wicked Fortune".

"Hart-Leap Well" is a pastoral poem which makes use of much of the store-house of pastoral imagery drawn upon by Spenser, Thomson, and others. Lines 85-88, for example,

> And, near the fountain, flowers of stature tall
> With trailing plants and trees were intertwined, -
> Which soon composed a little sylvan hall,
> A leafy shelter from the sun and wind

recall pictures of the Garden of Adonis, FQ. III. vi. 44, as well as the usual pleasant descriptions Spenser gives to places of leisure and natural joy. Perhaps thinking very much of Spenser, in "Colin Clouts Come Home Again" and in FQ. VI. x, Colin's playing for the dancing/

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[1] PW, II, 509.

dancing graces, when he wrote the poem, Wordsworth depicts himself in Spenserian terms in lines 99-100:

> 'Tis my delight, alone in summer shade,
> To pipe a simple song for thinking hearts.

"Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle" tells a story that has certain affinities with both Meliboee and Calidore in FQ. VI. ix. Wordsworth describes Lord Clifford, during the exile as a shepherd, in terms that are strongly reminiscent of Calidore's appearance while he was staying with Meliboee and Pastorella and working as a shepherd, in FQ. VI. ix. 36ff.

> And tends a flock from hill to hill:
> His garb is humble; ne'er was seen
> Such garb with such a noble mien;
> Among the shepherd-grooms no mate
> Hath he, a Child of strength and state!
> (111-15)

Calidore, in his pursuit of Pastorella, exchanged his armour for shepherd's weeds, yet any

> who had seene him then, would have bethought
> On Phrygian Paris...

and his kind treatment of Coridon, his rival for the love of Pastorella, in gifts and games, treatment and behaviour dictated by Calidore's "courtesie", set him above the other shepherds, in strength and in actions. Both Lord Clifford and Sir Calidore return to courtly life from their rural experience as wiser and better men; both had found love "in huts where poor men lie" ("Song....Castle," line 161); and both had learned much from the woods and rills and sky and Nature.

"Laodamia"/

"Laodamia" is, in many ways, the culmination of Spenser's influence on Wordsworth, along with "The White Doe of Rylstone". The main sources are classical, as de Selincourt notes[1] and as Wordsworth himself suggests in the I.F. note to the poem. Abbie Potts describes the poem as a notable achievement of "the perfect union of love and reason, those mutual factors in both life and art,"[2] which is certainly what Spenser's theme was throughout the FAERIE QUEENE, and THE FOWRE HYMNES. The quiet, solid reasoning of Protesilaus and the effect of his words on the fitful and earthly passion of Laodamia are strongly reminiscent of the words of wisdom given to Red-Crosse in the House of Holiness, the advice of the Hermit to Timias and Serena in Book VI, and the general statements in the "Hymne to Hevenly Love". The stanza form is the form Spenser uses in THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER for "January" and "December", as well as in the "Teares of the Muses" and "Astrophel". Colin's lament in "December" is similar to that of Laodamia. And Colin appears to die, or at least vanish, just as Laodamia dies when rebellious passion is not satisfied by reason. There are two statements by Protesilaus that are close in sense, although not especially close in direct word borrowing, to Spenser's meanings in the poems to which I have already suggested as being similiar to "Laodamia". Lines 41-42,

> And something also did my worth obtain;
> For fearless virtue bringeth boundless gain.

might/

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[1] PW, II, 518-19.

[2] Abbie Findlay Potts, THE ECCLESIASTICAL SONNETS OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH( New Haven: 1922 ), p. 1.

might be compared to FQ. III xi. 19:

> "Life is not lost, " (said she) "for which is bought
> Endlesse renown, that, more than death, is to be sought."

The Spenser lines seem to epitomize just exactly the attitude Protesilaus has toward his own sacrifice on the beaches of Troy. Apart from their obvious relationship to the things Red-Crosse learned in the House of Holiness, lines 145-49,

> "Learn, by a mortal yearning, to ascend -
> Seeking a higher object. Love was given,
> Encouraged, sanctioned, chiefly for that end;
> For this the passion to excess was driven -
> That self might be annulled:..."

might well be compared to FQ. VI. i. 41:

> In vain he seeketh others to suppresse,
> Who hath not learnd him selfe first to subdew:
> All flesh is frayle and full of ficklenesse,...

This is the plea of the "Hymne of Heavenly Beauty" to a large extent.

Wordsworth's powers of allegorical imagination are perhaps as strong in "Laodamia" as in any of his other poems; certainly his pictures recall the various spokesmen for virtue and holiness in Spenser and the sinners to whom they speak.

Such allegories as that which appears in "To Enterprise" almost automatically recall Spenser's creations. There is no specific image in Spenser which resembles Enterprise, however. Such suggestions as the one found in lines 53-54, "By thy divinity impelled, The Stripling seeks the tented field;" recall the advent of Red-Crosse to the Court of Gloriana, or the acceptance by Sir Calidore of young

Tristam/

Tristam into the rites of squiredom (FQ. VI. ii. 34-35). Line 74, "Among the monsters of the deep," is faintly reminiscent of FQ. II. xii. 22-25, the creatures Sir Guyon saw after his boat was beached after they had avoided the Whirlepoole of decay. A study of Wordsworth's abstractions is needed.

The description of Spenser's journey across the sea in "Colin Clouts Come Home Again" and his return may have been in the back of Wordsworth's mind as he wrote lines 25-28 of "View from the Top of Black Comb".

> Do we behold the line of Erin's coast?
> Land sometimes by the roving shepherd-swain
> (Like the bright confines of another world)
> Not doubtfully perceived. - Look homeward now!

"The Haunted Tree", in the central section, lines 9-30, seems to recall elements perhaps found in Spenser by Wordsworth. Wordsworth's oak canopy, fashioned by Art or Nature, reminds us of the Bowre of Bliss; his "panting Wood-nymph, wearied with the chase" recalls FQ. IV. viii. 9 (among other sections of the poem) and Mutability VI. 42; and the ghost haunting the old tree, "lamenting deeds of which / The flowery ground is conscious" reminds us of Fradubio and his fate, and the false Duessa who, as Fidessa, listened as he told Red-Crosse of his troubles.

Wordsworth's poem to Edith May Southey, Dora Wordsworth, and Sara Coleridge, "The Triad", has a number of possible reminiscences of Spenser in it. The poem in its entirety is reminiscent of Colin and/

and his piping to the Graces in FQ, VI, x. The one-by-one appearance of the three bright Beings is similar to a Masque, a similarity which Wordsworth would not have unconsciously created. The section on Lucida, the first of the girls, lines 35-51, recalls "Prothalamion"; the second section about the same girl, lines 52-79, recalls Pastorella. The second girl is described in terms which remind the reader of the daughters of Caelia in the House of Holiness, and of Pastorella. Lines 123-27 are suggestive of "Muiopotmos". Lines 141-72 are also reminiscent of the daughters in the House of Holiness. The description of the third girl is strongly reminiscent of that given of Una.

There is one short section in "Presentiments" which recalls Spenser:

> Yet there are
> Blest times when mystery is laid bare,
> Truth shows a glorious face.
>
> (67 - 69)

The allusion to Una is clearly probable.

Another clear allusion to Spenser occurs in "Vernal Ode", lines 71-74:

> Mortals, rejoice! the very Angels quit
> Their mansions unsusceptible of change,
> Amid your pleasant bowers to sit,
> And through your sweet vicissitudes to range!

Wordsworth's passage is close, in sense and in wording, to FQ, II, viii, 1-2, beginning "And is there care in heaven?" The Spenser passage speaks of a problem that was central to Elizabethan thought, and provides an answer. It is the kind of thought that would appeal to Wordsworth, and it is the kind of thought he toyed with in THE BORDERERS. The section of the "Vernal/

"Vernal Ode", lines 40-74, is a combined compressed reminiscence of elements from FQ. I. x. 56 (Contemplation showing the new Jerusalem to Red-Crosse), the Garden of Adonis, parts of Despayre's speech to Red-Crosse, and portions of the Cantos of Mutabilitie.

"The Cuckoo-Clock", written some twenty-three years later than the "Vernal Ode", alludes to some of the same Spenserian material as its predecessor. The passage

> Well may our hearts have faith that blessings come,
> Streaming from founts above the starry sky,
> With angels when their own untroubled home
> They leave, and speed on nightly embassy
> To visit earthly chambers, -- and for whom?
> Yea, both for souls who God's forbearance try,
> And those that seek his help, and for his mercy sigh.
>
> (38 - 44)

is a recollection of FQ. II. viii. 1-2, noted above, and of FQ. I. x. 56-57 (Red-Crosse watching the angels visiting the new Jerusalem).

There are at least four compressed reminiscences of Spenser in "On the Power of Sound". The first occurs in lines 21-22:

> That roar, the prowling lion's Here I am,
> How fearful to the desert wide!

This brings to mind the lion who came to Una; the phrase 'desert wide' is fairly commonplace in Spenser, in FQ. IV. vii. 2, for instance. In Wordsworth's poem, lines 39-40,

> And milder echoes from their cells
> Repeat the bridal symphony.

and the lines from the MS, printed on p. 324,

> Flung back by woods, and rock-besprinkled meadows
> And in the clear crystalline sky reborn

which/

which in the MS lead into the lines cited above, are similar to "Epithalamion", 261, etc. In lines 92-93, Wordsworth writes "...stay / The uplifted arm of Suicide", an image which reproduces exactly Una's action in the Cave of Despair when Red-Crosse was on the verge of submitting himself to Despayre's rhetoric, FQ. I. ix. 52. "While Fauns and Satyrs beat the ground / In cadence..." can be compared to FQ. III. x. 45, Hellenore dancing with the Satyrs, and FQ. VI. x. 10, "And many feete fast thumping th'hollow ground".

"Peter Bell" has a number of possible Spenser allusions, the majority of them belonging to the compressed kind. Some, such as lines 101-05,

> Or we'll into the realm of Faery,
> Among the lovely shades of things;
> The shadowy forms of mountain bare,
> And streams, and bowers, and ladies fair,
> The shades of palaces and kings!

remind us that Wordsworth knew his Spenser and read him often. Line 198, which appears in the 1836 edition but not in the one of 1849, reads "We all are wandering in a wood", to which we might compare FQ. III. v. 3 ("Who long time wandered through the forest wyde") and FQ. VI. vii. 19 ("Was wandered in the wood..."),

> He roved among the vales and streams,
> In the green wood and hollow dale;
> They were his dwellings night and day,--
> (241 - 43)

and

> A savage wildness round him hung
> As of a dweller out of doors;
> In his whole figure and his mien
> A savage character was seen
> Of mountains and of dreary moors.
> (291-95)

are/

are both reminiscences of the Savage man who rescued Calidore and Serena, FQ. VI. iv, and the monster which abducted Amoret, FQ, IV. vii. 5ff. Line 341 begins a longish section about wandering through the woods and on to a deserted quarry, and past that to the beautiful meadow, "a small green plot, / With rocks encompassed round...", a descriptive passage which resembles the travels of Una and Red-Crosse to Archimago's hermitage in Book I, and the travels of Timias and Serena to the Hermit's cottage in Book VI. And finally, lines 789-90,

> I feel that I am all unfit
> For such high argument

reflect Spenser's equal 'humility' in FQ. III. Introduction. 3, and in Mutability. VII. 1-2.

"I Love Upon a Stormy Night", printed in the Appendix, has the following lines:

> Oft have I seen in glade or bower
> Sweet shapes upon the moon light ground,
> Some here, as little fairies small,
> Some there, as human beings tall,
> All dancing round and round.

which may be considered as a compressed remembrance of the scene Calidore witnessed in FQ. VI. x. 10-14, Colin piping to the Graces on Mount Acidale.

The allusions noted in this volume indicate how effectively Wordsworth could use borrowed materials from Spenser, even in situations which were quite remote from the original. The range of borrowings show that he was familiar with most of Spenser, especially FQ. I and II, THE FOWRE HYMNES, and the marriage songs.

## From Physical Borrowing to Emotional Compatibility

"Bound each to each by natural piety."

Volume III of de Selincourt's edition of Wordsworth's POETICAL WORKS contains the following groups of poems: "Miscellaneous Sonnets", "Memorials of Various Tours", "Poems Dedicated to National Independence and Liberty", "The Egyptian Maid", "The River Duddon Series", "The White Doe of Rylstone and Other Narrative Poems", and "The Ecclesiastical Sonnets". Both "The White Doe" and "The Ecclesiastical Sonnets" have been exhaustively studied by others, particularly "The White Doe" by Alice P. Comparetti, and "The Ecclesiastical Sonnets" by Abbie F. Potts.[1] I have been able to make use of their work, but not add to it. Both writers find specific links between Spenser and Wordsworth which throw light on the thesis of this paper. Professor Potts demonstrates throughout her study the affinity that existed between Wordsworth and Spenser in the areas of human thought touched upon by the Sonnets.[2] She suggests that Wordsworth followed a normal mental development and evolution until, at the age of fifty-one, "the natural phenomena of his country and the humble activities of his fellow-men made way in his mind for a loftier theme, the spiritual history of a people,"[3] and points out that Spenser, in THE FAERIE QUEENE, and Virgil, in his/

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[1] Alice Pattee Comparetti, THE WHITE DOE OF RYLSTONE, BY WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. A Critical Edition, Cornell Studies in English, XXIX (Ithica: 1940), especially pp. 195-241. Abbie Findlay Potts, THE ECCLESIASTICAL SONNETS OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH (New Haven: 1922), throughout.

[2] Potts, ECCLESIASTICAL SONNETS, p. 27ff.

[3] Ibid., p. 4.

his AENEID, had progressed beyond their early poetic themes to this "final challenge of life and art".[1] It is worth mentioning, in this connection, that like Virgil, Dante, and Spenser, Wordsworth begins his series in the first person.[2]

Alice Comparetti's study of "The White Doe of Rylstone", to which might be added some of the ideas suggested by Geoffrey Hartman,[3] is a thorough, and exciting, analysis of Wordsworth's poem. Starting with the idea that Wordsworth, after the death of John Wordsworth, was faced with the necessity of allaying the grief and anguish of himself and that of Mary and Dorothy, and that his success in doing so led him to a "calm and ... active existence,"[4] which is one of the ultimate goals of Spenser's moralizing in THE FAERIE QUEENE.[5] Citing F. M. Padelford's THE POLITICAL ALLEGORY OF THE FAERIE QUEENE, pp. 54-57, Comparetti indicates that in the marriage of Una and the Red-Crosse Knight, Wordsworth must have seen "the union of England and true religion".[6] Suggesting an analogy between the episode of Duessa and the "many errant knights"[7] which she led and/

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1 Ibid.

2 Ibid., p. 205.

3 Geoffrey Hartman, WORDSWORTH'S POETRY 1787-1814 (New Haven: 1964), especially pp. 324-31.

4 Comparetti, p. 14.

5 Ibid., p. 110.

6 Ibid., p. 112.

7 FQ. I. ii. 34.

and misled, and the Nortons, Comparetti shows how Wordsworth used the characteristics Spenser gave to Una to create his Emily.

> Una is the True Church; Emily, though of the Church, and loyal, is a woman, not a type; just so the doe is not a spirit, but an animal still, though spiritualized. Wordsworth is not an allegorical poet; his agents are real creatures, and have real, though typical emotions. He leaves allegory and theology to Spenser and Dryden... But the white doe, 'daughter of the Eternal Prime,' representing, indeed, the influence of religion - in Wordsworth's characteristic way - the white doe is a natural form, not a dogmatic one. Her influence therefore is upon the imagination and faith rather than upon the rational faculty or in the way of formal theological doctrine..... [1]

Looking even closer at the two female characters, Comparetti demonstrates Wordsworth's patterning of Emily on Una by pointing out that both are described as meek,[2] forlorn,[3] woeful,[4] solitary,[5] desolate.[6] "Una becomes the 'errant damozell,' and Emily the 'wandering Pilgrim', each seeking salvation, Una through the 'wildernesse and wastfull deserts,' the 'woods and wastnesse,' 'in wayes unknowne,' Emily 'ranging through the wasted groves' 'to distant places and unknown.'"[7] Emily, like Red-Crosse, like Wordsworth/

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[1] Comparetti, p. 113.

[2] FQ. I. iii. 21; "White Doe", 1767.

[3] FQ. I. vii. 43; "White Doe", 1622.

[4] FQ. I. iii. 3; "White Doe", 1191.

[5] FQ. I. iii. 2; "White Doe", 339.

[6] FQ. I. iii. 9; "White Doe", 1842.

[7] Comparetti, p. 109; she cites the appropriate passages from Spenser and Wordsworth in her summary.

Wordsworth himself, has an "impulse" toward the contemplative rather than the active life, but is led by the necessity of things away from the pure contemplative: Red-Crosse wishes to stay in the "new Hierusalem" but his responsibilities and duties prevent his doing so; Wordsworth is unable to live the contemplative life because of his personal responsibilities. Emily dies, to be sure, but it is the active and not the passive principle which she finally embraces. "The White Doe" is a more spiritual poem than THE FAERIE QUEENE,[1] but had Spenser not written about Una Wordsworth probably could not have formed his Emily as he did.

Apart from these two poems, the others in Volume III demonstrate a growing awareness on Wordsworth's part of Spenser's grasp of the "highest moral truths".[2] "If truth be essential to poetry, infinity and unity are the aspects of truth necessary to sublime poetry."[3] In his third essay on EPITAPHS Wordsworth emphasises "the infinitude of truth", and in his DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENERY OF THE ENGLISH LAKES, speaks of that "sublimity which will never be wanting where the sense of innumerable multitude is lost in and alternates with that of intense unity".[4] Professor Potts says that "Poetry so conceived was in Wordsworth's opinion sublime poetry; and sublime poetry/

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[1] Comparetti, p. 113.

[2] Preface to Edition of 1815, PW, II, 440.

[3] Potts, ECCLESIASTICAL SONNETS, p. 16.

[4] Both cited by Potts, p. 16, as part of her discussion. See also Wordsworth's letter to Landor noted on following page.

poetry was religious poetry..."[1] Wordsworth reminds Walter Savage Landor of this belief in a letter written in 1824:

> All religions owe their origin or acceptation to the wish of the human heart to supply in another state of existence the deficiencies of this, and to carry still nearer to perfection whatever we admire in our present condition; so that there must be many modes of expression, arising out of this coincidence, or rather identity of feeling, common to all Mythologies... I have little relish for any other /than books which treat of religion/ - even in poetry it is the imagination only, viz., that which is conversant (with), or turns upon infinity, that powerfully affects me...[2]

Wordsworth brings about this sense of infinity beautifully in such poems as "The Leech-Gatherer", which will be considered further in the chapter on his unconscious borrowings from Spenser. The Preface to the Edition of 1815 adds support to the change in understanding that came about in Wordsworth's attitude toward Spenser. Comparetti's study helps to make clear what Wordsworth meant when he writes, in the Preface, of Spenser's ability - aided by his allegorical spirit - "to create persons out of abstractions; ... and to give the universality and permanence of abstractions to his human beings, by means of attributes and emblems that belong to the highest moral truths and the purest sensations, - of which his character of Una is a glorious example."[3] Emily is a human being endowed with the "attributes and emblems that belong to the highest moral/

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[1] Potts, Ibid., p. 17.

[2] Letter to Walter Savage Landor, January 21, 1824, LY, I, 134.

[3] Preface to Edition of 1815, PW. II. 440.

moral truths and the purest sensations", and she is patterned on Una. The Preface acknowledges Wordsworth's belief that "The grand storehouses of enthusiastic and meditative imagination (are) the prophetic and lyrical parts of the Holy Scripture, and the works of Milton... (and) Spenser."[1]

There are numerous places in the "Miscellaneous Sonnets" where Wordsworth's phraseology is borrowed more or less directly from Spenser. Sonnet V, as de Selincourt notes[2], speaks of that inspiring hill which

> Into two ample horns his forehead wide. did divide
> (4-5)

The source is "Virgil's Gnat", 21-24, and the borrowing is quite close. Sonnet IX, "Upon the Sight of a Beautiful Picture", describes the painting in part as follows:

> Which stopped that band of travellers on their way,
> Ere they were lost within the shady wood;
> (5-6)

the wording, and the idea, is reminiscent of FQ. I. i. 7, the scene in which we see Una, Red-Crosse, and the Dwarf forced to seek shelter from the storm in the "shady grove", and of FQ. I. xii. 7, Spenser's description of "her nymphes enraunged in shady wood".

Sonnet XIV, "To Sleep", to which Keats' sonnet on the same subject might be compared, recalls the objects which created such a drowsy atmosphere in Morpheus' Cave, FQ. I. i. 41, the sounds of bees/

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[1] Ibid.

[2] PW, III, 419.

bees, rain, winds, and rivers. Darbishire cites the Spenser passage as a source for the first four lines of Wordsworth's sonnet.[1] "The Wild Duck's Nest", Sonnet XV, must have been written with Spenser's descriptions of various sylvan bowers in mind. The resemblance is clear.

Number XXIII, "Composed on the Eve of the Marriage of a Friend in the Vale of Grasmere, 1812," seems to be based in part on Spenser's description of his own bride in "Epithalamion", especially lines 148-203. Wordsworth's devotion to Spenser's spousal songs is frequently apparent, and Geoffrey Hartman makes them paramount in Wordsworth.[2] Abbie Potts, in her article on Wordsworth's Intimations Ode and other short poems, is less enthusiastic and perhaps more to the point in ascribing the influence on Wordsworth of Spenser's marriage songs,[3] as I discuss in Chapter VI.

"The World is too much with us..." is a remarkable instance of Wordsworth's power of combining nearly direct quotations from other poets into a poem which is strictly his own in style and thought/

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[1] William Wordsworth, POEMS IN TWO VOLUMES, 1807, edited by Helen Darbishire (Oxford: 1935), p. 391.

[2] Hartman, WORDSWORTH'S POETRY, especially pp. 267-68.

[3] Abbie Findlay Potts, "The Spenserian and Miltonic Influence in Wordsworth's Ode and Rainbow," SP, XXIX (1932), pp. 607-16.

thought. Lines 11-14,

> So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
> Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn;
> Have sight of Proteus coming from the sea;
> Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn.

remind us of Ovid, of Spenser, and of Milton. Darbishire points out that these four lines, and the two lines preceding them, should be compared to THE EXCURSION, IV, 607-766, "where the Wanderer shows how imaginative feeling is the source of rustic superstitions and pagan creeds, and insists on its supreme value in contrast with the apathy induced by worldliness or intellectual scepticism".[1] This last is the accidie which Spens calls the "chief temptation" of Spenser's day and the emotion which he fought against in his poetry.[2] Wordsworth is quite obviously speaking out strongly against the same thing here and in the character of the Wanderer. Direct borrowings are as follows: "this pleasant lea", line 11, from "Colin Clouts Come Home Again", line 283 ("a goodly pleasant lea"); "Proteus coming from the sea", line 13, is from PARADISE LOST, III, 603, and from Colin Clout, 248; and "Triton blow his wreathed horn", line 14, is directly from CCCHA, 245 ("Triton blowing loud his wreathed horne), and indirectly from "Muiopotmos", 296 ("And manie Tritons which their hornes did sound"). The idea, at least in the elder poetry familiar to Spenser, Milton and Wordsworth, is found in Ovid, METAMORPHOSES, I, Fable ix.

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[1] Darbishire, WORDSWORTH'S POEMS IN TWO VOLUMES, p. 395. Also PW, III, 424.

[2] Janet Spens, SPENSER'S FAERIE QUEENE, pp. 130-31.

There is a direct allusion to Spenser the poet in "Scorn not the Sonnet...", number I of Part II of the "Miscellaneous Sonnets". In speaking of the sonnet as an art form, he calls it

> a glow-worm lamp,
> It cheered mild Spenser, called from Faery-Land
> To struggle through dark ways;
> (9-11)

There is an oblique recollection of Spenser's "Reaping eternall glorie of his restless paines" (FQ. VI. ix. 2) in the sonnet "To B. R. Haydon", number III, Part II. Wordsworth's line reads

> Great is the glory, for the strife is hard!
> (14)

Sonnet XXXVIII has the lines

> now every day
> Is but a glimmering spoke in the swift wheel
> Of the revolving week.
> (9-11)

to which we can compare FQ. VII. vi. i, "the ever-whirling wheel of Change". This is one of the allusions noted by de Selincourt.[1]

Wordsworth is remembering both "Muiopotmos", 169-72, and FQ. III. vi. 31ff, Spenser's description of the Garden of Adonis, in the "Valedictory Sonnet", number XXXIX, in the lines

> his Flowerets...
> Each kind in several beds of one parterre.

There are two borrowings from Spenser in "Yarrow Visited", number/

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[1] PW, III, p. 431.

number IV of "Memorials of a Tour in Scotland, 1814". The first,

> Yon cottage seems a bower of bliss
> (61)

reminds us of FQ. III. v. 35 and FQ. II. xii. 42ff. Twenty-two lines later in Wordsworth's poem there is a line reminiscent of the "Epithalamion". Wordsworth writes

> One hour is theirs, nor more is mine -
> (83)

which recalls

> But let this day, let this one day, be myne;
> Let all the rest be thine:
> (125-26)

which is Spenser's plea in his song to his bride.

Part I of the "Poems Dedicated to National Independence and Liberty" contains Spenserian allusions in two sonnets, number II, "Calais, August, 1802," and number IX, "Hofer". The first speaks of "squires of low degree" (line 3), to which we can compare FQ. IV. VII. 15, "Yet was he but a Squire of low degree;" and FQ. IV. viii. 52, "the Squire of low degree". Line 5 of the poem to "Hofer" reads

> He comes like Phoebus through the gates of morn

which, although a fairly common-place piece of description, probably owes as much to FQ. I. v. 2 as it does to any other literary source.

> At last, the golden Orientall gate
> Of greatest heaven gan to open fayre;
> And Phoebus, fresh as brydegrome to his mate,
> Came dauncing forth, shaking his deawie hayre,
> And hurld his glistring beams through gloomy ayre.

The appropriateness of this kind of descriptive analogy to Hofer is

my/

my reason for suggesting Spenser as the source.

Part II of the "Poems Dedicated to National Independence and Liberty" contains two recollections from Spenser and one definite borrowing. Number XXI, a sonnet beginning "Look now on that Adventurer..." is similar in its images of the giant and his destruction to the episode in FQ. V. ii. 30ff, where Artegal and Talus meet and destroy the Gyant and his balance scales. The "Ode, 1814," number XXXIX, mentions St. George and his shield decorated with the red cross, in lines 24ff. The direct borrowing occurs in number XLIII, the poem "Occasioned by the Battle of Waterloo, February, 1816," line 9, which reads

Assoiled from all encumbrance of our time.

Wordsworth, in a note to the poem, printed on p. 150, cites Spenser's "From all this world's encumbrance did himself assoil", FQ. VI. v. 37.

The "Desultory Stanzas, Upon Receiving the Preceding Sheets From the Press," number XXXVIII of the "Memorials of a Tour on the Continent, 1820," is written in Spenserian stanzas and is reminiscent of the prefatory poem to THE SHEPHEARDS CALENDER. Wordsworth writes

> Go forth, my little Book! pursue thy way;
> Go forth, and please the gentle and the good;
> Nor be a whisper stifled, if it say
> That treasures, yet untouched, may grace some future lay.
> (87-90)

The first line cited resembles the beginning of "Immerito's" poem, and the last of the cited lines resembles the concluding line of Spenser's poem/

poem. The general meaning of both poems is the same - the poets are asking for gentle readers and promising better things to come.

"Memorials of a Tour in Italy, 1837" recalls the Garden of Adonis, FQ. III. vi. 39-40, and Mutability vii. 47-48 in the lines

> if beauty could preserve,
> From mortal change, aught that is born on earth
> Or doth on time depend.
> (229-31)

The lines also remind us faintly but unspecifically of the Hymne to Beauty.

"The River Duddon" series of sonnets provides perhaps Wordsworth's most definite use of flowing water as a thing both delightful and thought-provoking, as both Spenser and Shelley do. In his edition of "Daphnaida", Renwick suggests that flowing water, especially rivers, were a source of delight and joy to Spenser.[1] To Wordsworth, the sonnet sequence on the Duddon was an opportunity to work out his philosophy. In the series, the river itself functions as a constant, an unending consolidation of things which have no end. The series belongs to the fortitude of mind that the poet had to develop as a solution to his early fears when, as Hartman says in another context, many of his poems "are acts of a living mind open to the terror of discontinuity".[2] Near the end of the series, the "terror of discontinuity" re-appears, but is vanquished/

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[1] Edmund Spenser, DAPHNAIDA AND OTHER POEMS, edited by W. L. Renwick (London: 1929), p. 184.

[2] Hartman, WORDSWORTH'S POETRY, p. 268. Hartman is writing about the early poetry.

vanquished by the poet's realization that the river has no end, that the eternal is eternal, and that he has only to return whence he came to ensure that what he has discovered is true. The poet may have been, in his youth, "Most pleas'd when most uneasy;"[1] but like his own creations, the Leech-gatherer and the Wanderer, he has found that a kind of resignation to the externals of life creates the harmony of mind that an awareness of the "Universal Verities" brings. The allusions to Spenser in the series are superficial, but the patterns of philosophic thought are quite close, and the final solution to the question of man's salvation is the same. Lines 1-7 of a MS version of XXIV, "The Resting-Place", are reminiscent of "Muiopotmos", 49-56 and 201-16. Spenser's poem on the butterfly seems to have been much in Wordsworth's mind as he composed his sonnet sequence. Sonnet XXVI, "Return, Content! ..." for example, reflects "Muiopotmos", 37-48, 153-60, 169-72, and 209-16, in

> Or, free as air, with flying inquest viewed
> The sullen reservoirs...

Sonnet XXX makes an ethical point which also concerned Spenser.

> Who swerves from innocence, who makes divorce
> Of that serene companion - a good name,
> Recovers not his loss; but walks with shame,
> With doubt, with fear, and haply with remorse.
> (1-4)

Spenser, in his age's different method of expression,[2] says essentially the same thing in FQ. VI. vi. 1-16, and spreads it over nearly one hundred and fifty lines. The same lesson is drawn from the/

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[1] Wordsworth's "To the Daisy", line 4.

[2] See Spens, SPENSER'S FAERIE QUEENE, and Chapter VII of this study.

the experience of Burbon, in FQ. V. xi. 55, who gives up his shield to save himself, and the example of Braggadocchio functions as a comic warning of the same thing.

"The Highland Hut" provides a good example of Wordsworth's deliberate borrowing from Spenser when what he has seen reminds him of Spenser's work. In a long note to the poem, Wordsworth quotes from Dorothy Wordsworth's Journal for August 27, 1803:

> I was less occupied by remembrance of the Trossachs,
> Beautiful as they were, than the vision of the
> Highland hut, which I could not get out of my head;
> I thought of the Faery-land of Spenser, and what
> I had read in romance at other times .....[1]

There is then a long description of the hut and its romantic aspects. Wordsworth and Dorothy were reminded of the lulling effects of the Cave of Morpheus, FQ. I. i. 47, by the sounds of the rill, the loch, and the rain, which added such visionary power to the hut. Nor, as he is thinking about the hut and its picturesqueness,

> does he want
> Creations lovely as the work of sleep -
> Fair sights, and visions of romantic joy.

The quoted passage, the final three lines of the inscription "Written With a Pencil Upon a Stone in the Wall of the House (An Out-House) on the Island at Grasmere", describes a similiar - and frequent - pleasure the poet found in human habitations which showed the results of Nature's work on them. Both poems blend well into his philosophy of human existence as a series of temporary actions containing the seeds of future eternal thoughts.

Volume/

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[1] Quoted PW, III, p. 530-32.

Volume IV of the POETICAL WORKS contains the following groups of poems: "Evening Voluntaries", "Itinerary Poems of 1833", "Poems of Sentiment and Reflection", "Sonnets Dedicated to Liberty and Order", "Miscellaneous Poems", "Inscriptions", "Selections from Chaucer", "Poems Referring to the Period of Old Age","Epitaphs and Elegiac Pieces", and the Intimations Ode. It is a volume rich in Spenser allusions.

The second poem included in the "Evening Voluntaries", "On a High Part of the Coast of Cumberland", is an example of Wordsworth's use of the compressed allusion. His lines

> Whate'er the path these mortal feet may trace,
> Breathe through my soul the blessing of thy grace,
> Glad, through a perfect love, a faith sincere,
> Drawn from the wisdom that begins with fear,
> Glad to expand; and, for a season, free
> From finite cares, to rest absorbed in Thee!
> (21-26)

are an appeal to the "Power Supreme!" in the form of the ocean; yet there is a deliberate reflection in the poem of the trials and ultimate rewards of Red-Crosse. Like Spenser's knight, Wordsworth wants to earn his way to peace and love through love and faith. Red-Crosse is given a short time free from mortal cares with Una (FQ. I. xii) and then returns to complete his obligations to Gloriana, knowing that when he has finished his job he will be able to return to the love and faith he has earned. The "wisdom that begins with fear" for Red-Grosse is his encounter with Despayre in Canto ix, and his subsequent training in the House of Holiness. Wordsworth has progressed a long way toward the philosophic calm he sought/

sought, from his "Most pleas'd when most uneasy;" to the more stable emotional state of knowing the "wisdom that begins with fear". He resembles his own Leech-gatherer now.

The fourth poem in the series, "Not in the lucid intervals of life...", contains a reference to Mammon:

> Not in the breathing-times of that poor slave
> Who daily piles up wealth in Mammon's cave -
> Is Nature felt, or can be:
> (5-7)

To which we can compare FQ. II. vii. 35-37, the scene in which Mammon's workers are surprised by Guyon's visit as they toil at their furnaces. He represents a kind of human nature which they cannot understand and they cannot appreciate him. Spenser provides an answer to those who are incapable of understanding, in his Garden of Adonis, FQ. III.vi. 29ff.

"Soft as a cloud is yon blue Ridge...", number six in the series, has the lines,

> Why do good thoughts, invoked or not, descend
> Like Angels from their bowers, our virtues to befriend;
> (22-23)

FQ. II. viii. 1-2, "And is there care in heaven?" was specifically in Wordsworth's mind. The question that Spenser asks, and answers, is central to Elizabethan thought. Wordsworth rephrases the question for his own century and provides a similar answer.

De Selincourt and Darbishire note an early draft of number XII, "To the Moon", a line which reads "And thou art still, O Moon, the Sailor's/

Sailor's (Poet's) Friend". Wordsworth's uncertainty as to which to use (he finally wrote Sailor's) is interesting. The imagery throughout the draft poem is reminiscent of Wordsworth's description of Spenser.[1]

The "Stanzas Suggested in a Steamboat off Saint Bees' Heads, On the Coast of Cumberland," from "Itinerary Poems of 1833", are written in an irregular stanza form based in part on Spenser's stanza. The final line of each nine line stanza ends in either a regular pentameter or an alexandrine, depending upon where one puts stresses within the line. At least four stanza endings (stanzas 3, 4, 5, and 7) cannot be read any other way. There is also a vague hint of the Calenture one finds in "Colin Clouts Come Home Again" in Wordsworth's poem.

The lines

> Where Christian poetry's soul-cheering spark
> (Kindled from Heaven between the light and dark
> Of time) shone like the morning-star, farewell! -

from the thirty-fifth poem of the "Itinerary Poems is a recollection of FQ. I. xii. 21, where Una's father summons her for presentation to Red-Crosse:

> Who forth proceeding with sad sober cheare,
> As bright as doth the morning star appeare
> Out of the East, with flaming lockes bedight,
> To tell that dawning day is drawing neare,
> And to the world does bring long-wished light:

"soul-cheering spark" reminds us of Wordsworth's comment on what the sonnet meant to Spenser; the "morning star" reminds us of Chaucer.

"Personal/

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[1] PW, IV, p. 398.

"Personal Talk", from "Poems of Sentiment and Reflection", has "ladies bright" in line 5, a Spenserian term. More precise are Wordsworth's thoughts that in books

> ... find I personal themes, a plenteous store,
> Matter wherein right voluble I am,
> To which I listen with a ready ear;
> Two shall be named, pre-eminently dear, -
> The gentle Lady married to the Moor;
> And heavenly Una with her milk-white Lamb.
> (37-42)

That Wordsworth found Una a source for "personal themes" is borne out by his frequent association of Spenser's character with his own wife Mary.[1]

The "Ode to Duty" is written in an interesting stanza form: seven iambic tetrameter lines followed by a concluding alexandrine and rhyming ABABCCDD. It is a stanza related to Spenser's stanza. In the poem, Wordsworth asks for the control which duty imposes on man's actions and admits his own failures to do his duties on time. This is reminiscent of the delays which afflict Red-Crosse, Guyon, and other of Spenser's knights, as they slowly work toward the completion of their responsibilities. Sir Calidore, and his episode with Pastorella, is perhaps the outstanding example of this inclination to delay, for he too "deferred The task, in smoother walks to stray..." (lines 30-31). Line 53 of Wordsworth's poem,

> Flowers laugh before thee on their beds,

is reminiscent of FQ. II. vi. 24, "the fields did laugh, the flowres did freshly spring..."

Oliver/

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[1] Discussed PW, IV, p. 416; Darbishire, POEMS IN TWO VOLUMES, p. 440 also mentions this.

Oliver Elton describes the "Character of the Happy Warrior" as "an Elizabethan poem, with echoes of Spenser's couplet, and of Daniel's sweet austerity".[1] Wordsworth's probable sources are several, as de Selincourt suggests;[2] one possible source is a recollection of various descriptions Spenser gives to his knights. Wordsworth's thinking of the character of the Warrior led him to Aristotle's SYNOPSIS OF THE VIRTUES AND VICES, as he writes in a letter to Beaumont.[3] He transcribes for Beaumont the passage which most struck his mind, a passage on fortitude which must have struck Spenser in much the same way. Aristotle's definition fits John Wordsworth and Prince Arthur. Specifically, Wordsworth remembers Spenser in the following lines:

> - It is the generous Spirit, who, when brought
> Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
> Upon the plan that pleased his boyish thought:
> Whose high endeavours are an inward light
> That makes the path before him always bright:
> (3-7)

To which we can compare FQ. I. i. 12, "Vertue gives her selfe light through darkness for to wade".

The I.F. note to "The Force of Prayer" speaks of a "little plot of fertile ground..." to which we can compare FQ. II. vi. 12, "It /

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[1] Oliver Elton, A SURVEY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE 1780-1830, 2 volumes, London: 1955, II, p. 77.

[2] PW, IV, p. 86.

[3] Letter to Beaumont, March 12, 1805. EL, 462.

"It was a chosen plott of fertile land".[1]

"Humanity" has at least two passages which are similar to passages in Spenser. Lines 36-40, which describe the dream of Jacob of the angels flying to and fro between earth and sky and doing God's will is related to FQ. II. viii. 1-2, "And is there care in heaven?" Lines 73-74, "land whose azure mountain-tops are seats For Gods in council", are reminiscent of the "Gods assembled all on Arlo Hill" in Mutability, vi and vii.

"The unremitting voice of mighty streams" has phrases which are reminiscent of Morpheus Cave, FQ. I. i. 41, and the pleasures of the Bowre of Bliss, FQ. II. v. 30. A manuscript version on one line, printed on p. 106, refers to "the cell Scooped out from rocky steep", which is from FQ. II. vii. 28, "an huge cave hewne out of rocky clifte".

Sonnet IV of the "Sonnets Dedicated to Liberty and Order" uses almost a direct quote from Spenser in line 14, "Perilous is sweeping change, all chance unsound". Spenser's line reads "All change is perillous, and all Chaunce unsound," which de Selincourt erroneously assigns to FQ. V. xii. 30 instead of FQ. V. ii. 36.[2] De Selincourt's citation is to the description of Envie. MS C, printed on p. 129, quotes Spenser's line directly. The later version alters the line.

Sonnet/

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[1] The I.F. note appears in PW, IV, p. 421.

[2] PW, IV, p. 431.

Sonnet IX of the same sequence, "To the Pennsylvanians", reads

> For state-dishonour black as ever came
> To upper air from Mammon's loathsome den.
> (13-14)

Spenser does not use "loathsome" but he does use "darkesome" several times. The passage to which Wordsworth's lines compare is FQ. II. vii. 26ff. Darkesome den would not have been appropriate to Wordsworth's poem. The allusion is an indication of the lasting recollection of Spenser Wordsworth had, and of his ability to use Spenser for strengthening his ideas. Wordsworth was seventy-five years old when he wrote these lines.

There is a reference to the effect of imprisonment on Red-Crosse (FQ. I. viii. 38-41, Orgolio's prison) in Sonnet X, "At Bologna, In Remembrance of the Late Insurrections, 1837". Lines 1-4 read:

> shall men attain
> True freedom where for ages they have lain
> Bound in a dark abominable pit,
> With life's best sinews more and more unknit.

"Sonnets Upon the Punishment of Death" show Wordsworth close to the sentiment of the codes of chivalry which Spenser's knights practiced. In VI, "Ye brood of conscience...," Wordsworth says that the State must remember the adage

> If for deliberate shedder of man's blood
> Survive not Judgment that requires his own?
> (13-14)

which is the chivalric code that we see demonstrated when Spenser's knights meet scenes of bloodshed and immediately question the causes and/

and reasons and prepare to administer the proper punishment. Earlier in the poem there is an allusion to FQ. II. viii. 5-8, the Angel who was guarding Guyon after his release from Mammon's Cave providing the picture. Wordsworth writes

> yet beneficent
> In act, as hovering Angels when they spread
> Their wings to guard the unconscious Innocent -
> (3-5)

Like Spenser, Wordsworth stresses the difference between Innocence unconscious because of external forces and Innocence simply asleep, a consequence of Nature.

Number III of "Miscellaneous Poems" entitled "Liberty", is Wordsworth's poetic treatment of two fish who seemed to be dying in captivity and which revived in the freedom of the pond. Line 8 speaks of "the fresh waters of a living Well - " which de Selincourt compares to FQ. I. ii. 43, "bathed in a living well:"[1] Wordsworth was also remembering, perhaps even more strongly, Red-Crosse's falling into the "springing well", the "well of life", FQ. I. xi. 29. Both Red-Crosse and the two fish are restored to life and health by their allegorical baptisms.

"To the Lady Fleming", poem number XII of the "Miscellaneous Poems", has, in line 81, the expression "bold bad men", which de Selincourt traces to FQ. I. i. 37.[2] Wordsworth has an interesting double association in the poem as two lines later he quotes from PARADISE/

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[1] PW, IV, p. 437.

[2] PW, IV, p. 439. The same phrase appears in the PRELUDE, VII, 322. See Chapter VI.

PARADISE LOST.

"The Russian Fugitive" gives an example of the compressed allusion that Wordsworth used so well and so often. Lines 322-24 read:

> And in her face and mien
> The soul's pure brightness he beheld
> Without a veil between:

Ina, the girl in the poem, throughout reminds one of Una. The cited stanza, describing the marriage, is reminiscent of FQ. I. xii, the marriage of Red-Crosse and Una and her appearing without her black cloak, and of "Epithalamion", 448-50, where Spenser asks the Nymphes to strew the ground with flowers for his bride to walk upon.

The second "Inscription" contains the lines

> And 'tis a common ordinance of fate
> That things obscure and small outlive the great:
> (3-4)

which is the same thought we find in "Daphnaida", 366-68:

> For worthie of a better place was she;
> But me unworthie willed here to stay,
> That with her lacke I might tormented be.

The idea persists throughout Alcyon's grief-stricken utterances.

Wordsworth's character sketch of Sir George Beaumont in "Elegiac Musings in the Grounds of Coleorton Hall" is patterned on Spenser's description of Prince Arthur and of other heroic knights - Beaumont is "A spirit meek", who "shunned so modestly the light of praise", who has "graceful manners", is courteous and delicate and full of good sense.

Although/

Although the poems in this volume, like the ones in the first volume treated in this chapter, range over nearly fifty years, the major portion of them belong to the later work of the poet, and almost all the them date from 1807 and after. It was about this time, I have suggested, that Wordsworth had reached an understanding of himself and was able to make a fuller and more specific use of Spenser as a source. The allusions to Spenser in these poems are not embellishments, as they sometimes are in the early poems, but serve as definite guides to thought and idea.

The next chapter is an investigation of some of the Spenserian elements in the Intimations Ode, THE EXCURSION, and THE PRELUDE.

# VI

## THE EXCURSION and THE PRELUDE

### "The enshrining of the spirit"

THE EXCURSION (Volume V of the POETICAL WORKS) is the fullest statement of Wordsworth's philosophy. It is the symbolic marriage toward which the "Tintern Abbey" poem, the Intimations Ode and THE PRELUDE are all directed. Although THE EXCURSION has not received the critical attention that the other three poems have received, for several reasons, it is still the poem which more than any other in the Wordsworth canon demonstrates the symbolic marriage (in the person of the Wanderer) and the very possible symbolic tragedy (in the Solitary.) At the end of the poem one is left with the feeling that the tragedy could have been avoided, and that it might yet be turned into a symbolic marriage. The Solitary has begun to turn his eyes outward; he has begun to recognize more than his own personal grief and isolation. His fall toward tragedy is strangely reminiscent of that of Alcyon in "Daphnaida". Like Alcyon, he has fallen from the heights of a beautiful earthly love and has lost contact with the universal love to which the earthly ought to lead. Both men have become severely limited and deeply introspective through their bitter grief. They have stopped questioning "sense and outward things" and have made the masochistic pleasure of self-pity the ruling passion in their lives. We can only surmise what will ultimately become of Alcyon: Spenser's purpose in the poem was to record the grief of his friend. Wordsworth, however, leaves us with the feeling that the Solitary is on the road to a recovery of that awareness of eternals which he has willingly forsaken as a result/

result of his sadness. He is despondent and has lost faith in religion and in man. The deep contentment of the Wanderer begins to dispel the Solitary's disappointments over the French Revolution and with life. His arguments, "the bounteous gift Of one whom time and nature had made wise", have given rise to definite hopes in the Poet, and have had their effect on the Solitary. This incident, in Book IV, recalls two literary analogies: first is the Socratic dialogues of Plato, and second is the fatherly advice given to Red-Crosse in the House of Holiness.

Due in a large measure to its form - a conversational and didactic preaching - and to Wordsworth's intense desire to express his beliefs in as philosophical a tone as he could devise, the poem does not reflect as wide a range of poetical borrowings as one might expect from a poem of its length. There are several interesting recollections of Spenserian passages, and several compressed reflections. I suspect that the objects Wordsworth set for himself - "to give pictures of Nature, Man, and Society..."[1] - determined for him the majority of his borrowings.

Lines 74-75 of the Preface to the Edition of 1814,

> and see ill sights
> Of madding passions mutually inflamed;

recalls several passages in Spenser where two or more knights " with rancling malice" meet - FQ. I. vi. 43-44, the struggle between Satyrane and the Paynim who had been accused of killing Red-Crosse; FQ. IV. ix. 24ff, the fight between Paridell and Blandamour and among/

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[1] PW, V, 368.

among these two and Druon and Claribell over the lost love of Florimel, "all burning with a fresh desire of fell revenge, in their malicious mood...;" and the uneven conflict between the Prince and the Souldan in FQ. V. viii. 32ff.

There are at least three passages in Book I of THE EXCURSION which probably were written with Spenserian passages in mind. The first occurs in lines 9-12:

> who on the soft cool moss
> Extends his careless limbs along the front
> Of some huge cave, whose rocky ceiling casts
> A twilight of its own, an ample shade...

The recollection is a double recollection, mixing FQ. IV. vii. 32-33, the killing by Belphoebe of the giant who had imprisoned Amoret and Aemylia, and FQ. II. vii. 27ff, Mammon's Cave - "huge cave" is in stanza 28 and the description which Wordsworth uses appears, partly, in the next stanza.

Both the House of Holiness (FQ. I. x.) and the "man of infinite remembraunce" (FQ. II. ix.) contribute to the second passage, found in lines 238-43:

> and from them he acquired
> Wisdom, which works thro' patience; thence he learned
> In oft-recurring hours of sober thought
> To look on Nature with a humble heart,
> Self-questioned where it did not understand,
> And with a superstitious eye of love.

Red-Crosse is brought to wisdom through the ministrations of the three daughters of Dame Caelia and the teachings of the bead-men; the/

the "man of infinite remembraunce" did

> mediate all his life long,
> That through continuall practise and usage
> He now was growne right wise and wondrous sage:

Wordsworth was remembering his Spenser and at the same time transforming the images from abstractions and personifications to the very much flesh and blood figure of the Wanderer. The slow, careful, controlled action and speech of the characters in THE EXCURSION also demonstrate an awareness of Spenser.

Line 326, "Yet do such travellers find their own delight", is reminiscent of FQ. I. i. 10, Una and Red-Crosse in the forest during the storm, "Led with delight, they thus beguile the way".

Line 44, Book II,

> And gorgeous insect hovering in the air,

known and beloved by the Wanderer, recalls "Muiopotmos", a poem which Wordsworth has alluded to on several occasions, such as in the "Beggars", noted in Chapter IV. Spenser calls Clarion, the butterfly, "the gorgeous Flie", in line 109.

The next allusion occurs in a beautiful passage in which Wordsworth views from a hill-side, when the fog lifts, a sun-bathed land and cloudscape, and in his imagination transforms it into a celestial city of magnificence and splendor. The vision itself relates to the vision Red-Crosse was shown of the "new Hierusalem" by Contemplation in FQ. I. x. 53-57. Red-Crosse sees a "goodly City"/

City", "Whose wals and towres were builded high and strong Of perle and precious stone", whose "lofty towres into the starry sphere" reached toward heaven. The Solitary, after going to the assistance of the old man who was lost over-night on the hill, takes a single step through the vapour and there then

> opened to my view
> Glory beyond all glory ever seen
> By waking sense or by the dreaming soul!
> The appearance, instantaneously disclosed,
> Was of a mighty city - boldly say
> A wilderness of building - sinking far
> And self-withdrawn into a boundless depth,
> Far sinking into splendour - without end!
> Fabric it seemed of diamond and of gold,
> With alabaster domes, and silver spires,
> And blazing terrace upon terrace, high
> Uplifted; here, serene pavilions bright,
> In avenues disposed; there, towers begirt
> With battlements that on their restless fronts
> Bore stars - illuminations of all gems!
> By earthly nature had the effect been wrought
> Upon the dark materials of the storm
> Now pacified; on them, and on the coves
> And mountain-steeps and summits, whereunto
> The vapours had receded, taking there
> Their station under a cerulean sky.
> Oh, 'twas an unimaginable sight!
> Clouds, mists, streams, watery rocks, and emerald turf,
> Clouds of all tincture, rocks and sapphire sky,
> Confused, commingled, mutually inflamed,
> Molten together, and composing thus,
> Each lost in each, that marvellous array
> Of temple, palace, citadel, and huge
> Fantastic pomp of structure without name,
> In fleecy folds voluminous enwrapp'd.
> Right in the midst, where interspace appear'd
> Of open court, an object like a throne
> Under a shining canopy of state
> Stood fix'd; and fix'd resemblances were seen
> To implements of ordinary use,
> But vast in size, in substance glorified;
> Such as by Hebrew prophets were beheld
> In vision - forms uncouth of mightiest power,
> For admiration and mysterious awe.
> Below me was the earth; this little vale,
> Lay low beneath my feet; 'twas visible -
> I saw not, but I felt, that it was there,
> That which I <u>saw</u> was the reveal'd abode
> Of spirits in beatitude:

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I have quoted at such length because in this passage Wordsworth demonstrates his inclination toward "the sense of innumerable multitude" reaching an "intense unity"[1] in a situation where Spenser paints a picture that is generally concrete. In addition, in lines 852-60, he explains how he does this. Geoffrey Hartman suggests that lines 834-45 ought to be compared to FQ. I. x. 52-67.[2]

De Selincourt and Hartman both note the next Spenserian reference, in Book III, lines 277-80, de Selincourt suggesting that "it is the plea of Spenser's Despayre, FQ. I. ix. 40".[3] Hartman adds FQ. I. x. 52-57.[4] as a source for the passage. The Solitary is speaking of his life and the various experiences he has had and the happiness he has found: he describes himself as

> Pleased to have been, contented not to be.
> Such palms I boast not; no! to me, who find,
> Reviewing my past way, much to condemn,
> Little to praise, and nothing to regret,
> (Save some remembrances of dream-like joys...)

Wordsworth has taken the cunning speech of Despayre, and the rhythm of the speech ("Sleepe after toyle, port after stormie seas, Ease after warre, death after life..."), and, given the difference of expression to be expected in two such different characters, lets us hear it from the lips of a man who has turned his back on the world.

The/

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1 Wordsworth's "Description of the Scenery of the English Lakes", quoted in Potts, ECCLESIASTICAL SONNETS, p. 16.

2 Hartman, POEMS OF WORDSWORTH, pp. 300 and 403.

3 PW, V, 421.

4 Hartman, p. 403.

The Solitary argues, in lines 368-91, that his self-isolation has firm reason and precedent behind it. Not only does he wish to remove himself from the world, in which he has lost all that he loved, but he seeks the peace of mind, "Stability without regret or fear", that comes from a life lived alone by one "Subsisting under Nature's steadfast law". The description he offers of the hermit's life, and those events which in the past "drove The hermit to his cell in forest wide", are reminiscent of the life Spenser describes of the Hermit who cured Timias and Serena of their injuries in FQ. VI. v. 35-39 and VI. vi. 3-4. Wordsworth has transformed the straight description of Spenser's hermit into a calculated piece of rhetoric which the Solitary uses in the hope of convincing others that he still deserves pity. There is a similar passage in Wordsworth's "Tuft of Primroses", printed in Appendix C of Volume V, lines 264-95. It is interesting the number of parallels to Spenserian characters Wordsworth gave to his principal characters in THE EXCURSION - the Wanderer, who exhibits elements of the bead-men of the House of Holiness, of Prince Arthur, and of the Hermit of FQ. VI; and the Solitary, who resembles, at least in his speeches, Despayre and Alcyon.

Although there is no specific parallel in Spenser, Wordsworth's line "For Mutability is Nature's bane..." (458), and the arguments which accompany it, remind us of the more brazen arguments of Mutability herself in the Cantos. Wordsworth puts the arguments into the mouth of the Solitary.

As/

As the Solitary continues his life story, he tells of the freedom he gained to "meditate on follies past" when his wife, previously the sharer of all his actions, became pregnant, and he traced alone "those wild paths" they had traced together. With "self-indulgence" and "without shame",

> There, undisturb'd, could think of and could thank
> Her - whose submissive spirit was to me
> Rule and restraint - my guardian; shall I say
> That earthly Providence, whose guiding love
> Within a port of rest had lodged me safe;
> Safe from temptation, and from danger far?
> (III, 562-67)

resembles the attitude that Red-Crosse developed as a consequence of his stay in the House of Holiness and demonstrated in the final Canto of Book I when he married Una. In a cancelled MS version of the latter part of this section of the Solitary's story, printed on p. 99, appear some lines which enforce the association that exists between the Solitary's words and the general impression we get of Una. The lines, numbered 9-14, read as follows:

> see in human Form
> Ideal Truth embodied and enshrined,
> The weeds of misery put off, and faith
> Once more by miracle disclosed. O Thou
> Ordained at once the Partner of my woes
> And comforter...

The passage, in addition to the support it lends to my comments on the Solitary's affinity with the Una-Red-Crosse story, is an almost perfect summary of the thought of Book I of THE FAERIE QUEENE.

Book IV of THE EXCURSION contains at least four rather obvious references to Spenser. The first occurs in line 274, "Cast/

"Cast from the pedestal of pride", which is a compressed allusion to the story of Talus and the giant in FQ. V. ii. 50. The second, in lines 392-5, is a charming piece of description reminiscent of "Muiopotmos":

> Mounts on the breeze the butterfly; and soars,
> Small creature as she is, from earth's bright flowers,
> Into the dewy clouds. Ambition reigns
> In the waste wilderness:

The third is a compressed recollection of Una, the Court of Gloriana, and the Garden of Adonis, all of which contribute to the picturesque ideal in lines 588-98:

> - Truth has her pleasure-grounds, her haunts of ease
> And easy contemplation; gay parterres,
> And labyrinthine walks, her sunny glades
> And shady groves in studied contrast - each
> For recreation, leading into each:
> These may he range, if willing to partake
> Their soft indulgences, and in due time
> May issue thence, recruited for the tasks
> And course of service Truth requires from those
> Who tend her altars, wait upon her throne,
> And guard her fortresses.

The fourth is an allusion to the Satyrs, in lines 885-86, a "lurking ...(and) wild brood of gamesome Deities". The Satyrs who participate in the episodes of Una and Hellenora are described in much the same terms.

Book V of Wordsworth's poem has three rather broad allusions to Spenser, two of which appear not in the final version of the poem but in the MSS printed by de Selincourt. The first is in lines 630-34 and alludes to the "Deformed creatures" and the work they do in Mammon's Cave, FQ. II. vii. 35-37.

> the mine of real life
> Dig for us; and present us, in the shape
> Of virgin ore, that gold which we, by pains
> Fruitless/

Fruitless as those of aery alchemists,
Seek from the torturing crucible.

The MS variation, printed by de Selincourt on p. 182, contains a recollection of Red-Crosse in Orgoglio's prison, FQ. I. viii. 40ff, and the discomforts he suffered there: Wordsworth, in lines 6-9 of the MS, writes:

Mark him who shuts and opens his sad eyes
In some sepulchral dungeon's trickling vault,
Buried where scarcely he can note or feel,
The several qualities of night and day...

This is a return to the Spenserian gothicism which Wordsworth made such capital of in the Juvenilia. The third allusion is a broad statement which summarises the charge laid before the Knights of Maydenhead, and is printed on p. 183, MS lines 14-19:

Track where you may the course of those who bent
On strange adventures, or desiring gain,
Or urged by thirst of knowledge, wander on
Restless, encountering with their own free choice
All shapes of danger and unsolaced death,
Wherever foot can go.

Book VI of THE EXCURSION has allusions to Spenser which are more specific than those in the previous book or two. De Selincourt notes the borrowing from Spenser in the section beginning at line 163,[1]

Love will not submit to be controll'd
By mastery...

The source is FQ. III. i. 25,

Ne may love be compeld by maistery;
For soone as maistery comes sweet Love anone
Taketh his nimble winges, and soone away is gone.

Lines 548-50 are a recollection of Calidore's retirement into the country and his realization that he must return to his duties, and

Exchange/

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[1] PW, V, 458. De Selincourt traces the image to Chaucer, "The Franklyn's Tale", 36-8.

> Exchange the shepherd's frock of native grey
> For robes with regal purple tinged; convert
> The crook into a sceptre;

"There was a stony region in my heart...", line 918, can be compared to FQ. I. viii. 41, "a stony hart his hap to rew". Wordsworth uses the phrase "goodly thewes" in the final line of a MS passage, printed on p. 217, which de Selincourt traces to FQ. I. x. 4, "well upbrought In goodly thewes".[1] The counsel and advice that helped Ellen, in lines 1025-34, bear her self-reproach and shame reminds us of the advice given to Red-Crosse in the House of Holiness, FQ. I. x. 18, 21, 22-24. A MS variation printed on p. 226, lines 7-9,

> among trees
> The Cottage stands, hard by a plenteous stream
> That sparkling thrids the rocks, and tunes its voice

is a borrowing from FQ. I. i. 34,

> A little lowly Hermitage it was,
> Downe in a dale, hard by a forests side...

Two recollections of Spenser appear in Book VII. The first is a reminder of the retirement of the Hermit in FQ. VI. v. 35-39 (and repeated in VI. vi. 3-4) from the duties he had so successfully performed in his youth. Wordsworth describes the pleased grandfather who, to care for his grandchild, would come

> From the low tenement, his own abode,
> Whither, as to a little private cell,
> He had withdrawn from bustle, care, and noise,
> To spend the sabbath of old age in peace...

Line 791, "And, like a serpent, shows his glittering back" is a recollection of Spenser's picture in FQ. III. xi. 28,

> Like a discoloured Snake, whose hidden snare
> Through the greene gras his long bright burnisht back declares.

There/

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[1] PW, V, 460.

There is only one passage in Book VIII of THE EXCURSION which seems to allude to Spenser:

> a blissful immortality,
> To them whose holiness on earth shall make
> The Spirit capable of heaven, assured.
> (226-28)

which is a reference to the promise given to Red-Crosse by Contemplation in FQ. I. x. 61-62.

> Then seek this path that I to thee presage,
> Which after all to heaven shall thee send;
> Then peaceably thy painefull pilgrimage
> To yonder same Hierusalem doe bend,
> Where is for thee ordaind a blessed end:

THE RECLUSE, Part First, Book First, HOME AT GRASMERE, is printed as Appendix A by de Selincourt in Volume V of the POETICAL WORKS. There are only two passages in the poem to which I can ascribe a Spenserian influence, one of which is noted by de Selincourt. Lines 31-38 "recall Spenser's description of the flight of the Butterfly. Cf. PRELUDE, 1805, x. 838-9..." Specifically, de Selincourt points out "Muiopotmos", 209-13,[1]

> What more felicitie can fall to creature,
> Than to enjoy delight with liberty,
> And to be Lord of all the works of Nature,
> To raine in th'aire from earth to highest skie,
> To feed on flowers, and weeds of glorious feature.

as the source for Wordsworth's lines:

> Nor unmindful was the Boy
> Of sunbeams, shadows, butterflies and birds,
> Of fluttering Sylphs, and softly-gliding Fays,
> Genii, and winged Angels that are Lords
> Without restraint of all which they behold.
> The illusion strengthening as he gazed, he felt
> That such unfettered liberty was his,
> Such power and joy...

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[1] PW, V, 476.

I have already discussed Wordsworth's use of this same passage from "Muiopotmos" in the "Beggars".

The girl whose "Voice was like a hidden Bird that sang", line 91, is described in phrases that are similar to Spenser's description in FQ. II. xii. 62-63, the Bowre of Bliss, where "The joyous birdes, shrouded in chearefull shade Their notes unto the voice attempred sweet..." It is another example of Wordsworth borrowing a piece of description and transforming it into a situation which is radically different from that into which Spenser's original was written.

"The Tuft of Primrose", printed as Appendix C in Volume V, from which such passages as lines 264-295 and 272-80 are related to passages in THE EXCURSION in which I have noted Spenserian influences - EXCURSION III, 368-9, and VII, 663-6 - contains several additional allusions to Spenser. Line 212, "Stretching it's [sic] desolate length..." recalls FQ. I. i. 16, the dragon "whose folds displaid Were stretcht now forth at length without entraile," and the dragon pictures in FQ. I. i. xi. 37 and xii. 9. 7. Wordsworth's plea for

> some wardenship of spirits pure
> As duteous in their office to maintain
> Inviolate for nobler purposes,
> These individual precincts, to protect
> Here, if here only, from despoil and wrong
> All growth of nature and all frame of Art
> By, and in which the blissful pleasures live.

can be compared to the Bowre of Bliss, FQ. II. xii. 42 and 59, from which/

which the following passage is taken:

> A place pickt out by choyce of best alyve,
> That natures worke by art can imitate:
> In which whatever in this worldly state
> Is sweete and pleasing unto living sense...

Wordsworth's love for gardens - he says that land-scape gardening was one of the three things nature had equipped him for[1] - must have drawn him to Spenser's garden descriptions, even though Wordsworth's use of Spenser's phrases and descriptions is in normally a different line.

De Selincourt prints, in Appendix C, "The Ruined Cottage", which Wordsworth ultimately incorporated into THE EXCURSION. One passage from the poem which recalls a Spenser image occurs in lines 23-25:

> nor my weak arm disperse
> The insect host which gathered round my face
> And joined their murmurs to the tedious noise...

The Spenser source is FQ. I. i. 23,

> A cloud of cumbrous gnattes doe him molest,
> All striving to infixe their feeble stinges,
> That from their noyance he no where can rest;
> But with his clownish hands their tender wings
> He brusheth oft, and oft doth mar their murmurings.

Hartman suggests that line 15 of "The Tuft of Primroses", "From most adventurous bound of mountain sheep" is an example of what he calls the "vertical emphasis" of alliteration which Wordsworth learned from Spenser.[2] Abbie Findlay Potts suggests that/

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[1] Grosart, III, 468.

[2] Hartman, POEMS OF WORDSWORTH, 119.

that THE RECLUSE is a "spousal song" on the order of Spenser's "Epithalamion" and "Prothalamion".[1] She offers little discussion on the point, however. There is an indication in the poem that, like THE EXCURSION, it is directed toward the symbolic marriage idea mentioned earlier in this chapter. THE RECLUSE remains as a fragment of a poem, however, and not a fulfillment of a poet's plans.

The Intimations Ode, on the other hand, is a finished poem. It is, as Potts points out, a spousal song in which Wordsworth borrows Spenser's rhymes and phrases.

> In stanzas I, II, III, IV, X, and XI of Wordsworth's ODE, INTIMATIONS OF IMMORTALITY, only eleven rhymes out of forty-two are not found in Spenser's PROTHALAMION; and from the fifteen rhymes of the PROTHALAMION not used as rhymes in the ODE, seven words are found in Wordsworth's line. Moreover, several phrases of Spenser's eighth stanza echo in Wordsworth's sixth. Except in stanzas V, VII, VIII, and the first part of IX, the later poet has wellnigh appropriated the rhyme of his predecessor... From the EPITHALAMION Wordsworth borrowed for his ODE certain Spenserian properties - the 'pipe' and the 'tabor', and the boys who shout, and the cheerful birds who chant their lays, singing of joy and pleasance. The sun of the wedding-day and the advance of Spenser's bride 'like Phoebe from her chamber of the East' toward the altar and 'the holy priest' reappear in Wordsworth's image of the light in the East, the splendid vision that attends the Youth who is 'Nature's priest'. The Spenserian 'inward beauty' resembling 'celestial treasures' becomes the Wordsworthian apparel of 'celestial light'.[2]

Spenser's hymns contribute to the ODE as well. According to Potts, the/

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[1] Abbie Findlay Potts, "The Spenserian and Miltonic Influences in Wordsworth's Ode and Rainbow, SP, XXIX (1932), pp. 608-09.

[2] Ibid., pp. 607-08.

the

> portrait in stanzas VII-VIII of Hartley Coleridge, the child with the name of a philosopher, was in part designed upon the image of the infant Love in Spenser's Hymn in Honour of Love; Wordsworth's Child-Philosopher has even somewhat of the beauty of the Divine Child in Spenser's Hymn of Heavenly Love.[1]

Helen Darbishire says that the "Rainbow" and the Intimations Ode "hold the key to Wordsworth's philosophy of life".[2] That he would turn to Spenser for material and rhythm in the Ode is indicative of how much a part of Wordsworth's thinking revolved around Spenser and of the relationship that existed between them. The Ode is a spousal song for the marriage of the real and the ideal, the physical and the spiritual. The mature man watches children at play and regrets the loss of "the visionary gleam" and "the glory and the dream". He is disturbed by the apparent discontinuity of life, by the removal through time of man's nearness to God. The first four stanzas, which ask the questions, all are written in the rhyme of "Prothalamion", as Potts details in her article. At least two years separate the first four stanzas from the remainder of the poem. In the meantime, Wordsworth has married, lost his brother John, and completed a large part of the PRELUDE. He has been " thrown... back upon the deepest resources of his nature" by sorrow;[3] he has found a continuity of life through his marriage; and he has written philosophically of the continuousness of life which/

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[1] Ibid., p. 610.

[2] Darbishire, WORDSWORTH'S POEMS IN TWO VOLUMES, p. 424.

[3] Darbishire, p. 449.

which although it is subjected to change does not really break into separate sections. He still makes use of Spenser's rhymes in the second part of the poem (stanzas 6, 9, 10, and 11 mainly), and he borrows ideas from the hymns. He realises that the visionary gleam of childhood is gone, but there is "Strength in what remains behind". The links to eternity, accepted without question by the child, have been restored to the man. The union of the real and the ideal, the physical and the spiritual is brought about by suffering, the pain "obscure and dark", through which we are led to an awareness of mortal and eternal life. The experience of observation and of recollection are transformed into pure visions that transcend the physical world and connect it to the spiritual. Spenser takes the spiritual world - Una, Red-Crosse, Guyon, Prince Arthur - and transforms it into a physical abstraction which has body and form.

THE PRELUDE completes Wordsworth's pilgrimage, and is a history of it. The poet traces the more or less parallel roads of the real and the ideal as he traverses them and leaves the reader with the very deep feeling that they are disunited only when one is ignorant of their relationship to each other. In the PRELUDE Wordsworth relates how he achieved the transcending of the physical and began to recognize the part it plays in the realization of the eternal. Because the poem is such a personal exploration, the poet limits his allusions to and borrowings from other poets. In a personal narrative, written for a friend, there is little need to draw analogies. There are comparatively few borrowings from

and/

and allusion to Spenser in the PRELUDE, as noted in de Selincourt's notes; they are almost equally divided between the 1805 and 1850 versions of the poem. However, Wordsworth does make use of Spenser scenes in the poem, especially in Book I, lines 181-84 (1805), 170-185 (1850), the "Within the groves of Chivalry" passage; and in Book IX, the portrait of Beaupuy, in whom the world of romance was made real and actual for Wordsworth. Both of these passages are discussed in Chapter VIII rather than here for they reflect the development of Spenser's significance to Wordsworth, and they provide examples of Spenser's contribution to Wordsworth's desire for a morally simple world.

De Selincourt suggests in his note to lines 181-84 (1805) that Wordsworth's source is FQ. VI, and that Wordsworth, in his revision printed in the 1850 version, developed a moral tone in the passage which he was innocent of when he first composed the lines in 1798.[1] My discussion of these lines in Chapter VIII enlarges on de Selincourt's suggestion. Line 185 (1850), which terminates the expanded version of the brief notice of the "groves of Chivalry" found in Book I, ends with the phrase "faithful loves", which is from FQ. I. Introduction, 1 ("Fierce Warres and faithful loves shall moralize my song").[2] That Wordsworth would borrow the phrase for his late revision is indicative of the evolution/

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[1] William Wordsworth, THE PRELUDE, edited by Ernest de Selincourt; revised by Helen Darbishire (Oxford, 1959), p. 513.

[2] PRELUDE, 513.

evolution of his mind.

> And that gentle Bard,
> Chosen by the Muses for their Page of State,
> Sweet Spenser, moving through his clouded heaven
> With the moon's beauty and the moon's soft pace,
> I call'd him Brother, Englishman, and Friend.
> (III, 279-84, 1805; 281-85, 1850)

Appears in Book III, "Residence At Cambridge", in Wordsworth's recitation of how he spent his time and found his pleasures at University. It is worthwhile mentioning here a sentence from his "GUIDE THROUGH THE DISTRICT OF THE LAKES", in which he says that "Milton, it will be remembered, has given a clouded moon to Paradise itself".[1] In addition, the "soft pace" of Spenser had a strong appeal for Wordsworth, an appeal which is reflected, I think, in the leisurely movement of the passage in Spenser's honor. There is an allusion to Spenser's description of the tapestry in the House of Busyrane, FQ. III. xi. 28,[2] in lines 592-94 (1805), 564-65 (1850):

> Of colours, lurking, gleaming up and down
> Through that state arras woven with silk and gold.

Book IV, lines 140-41 (1805) read "My Soul Put off her veil", which de Selincourt traces to Exodus xxxiv. 33-35 and 2 Corinthians iii. 13-16.[3] I mention the line, although there is no direct link to Spenser, because of the connection that seems to me to exist between the lines and the action of Una in the final canto of Book I of THE FAERIE QUEENE. In line 335 (1805), 328 (1850), Wordsworth uses the phrase "Grain-tinctured", which de Selincourt traces to Milton's/

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[1] Grosart, II, 255.

[2] PRELUDE, 520.

[3] PRELUDE, 522.

Milton's use of the word for the color scarlet; it is also associated with Chaucer (in "Sir Topas") and Spenser ("Epithalamion", 226-28).[1] Wordsworth was probably remembering Milton here, however.

De Selincourt suggests that Thomas Day's hero Harry Sandford (in SANDFORD AND MERTON) as a possible analogy for Wordsworth's line, Book V, 304 (1805), 306 (1850), "Dumb creatures find him tender as a Nun".[2] It is not definite where Wordsworth got his idea for the image, but it seems to me that the child he is writing about has the virtues of Una, and the vices of the world. I would suggest a possible remembrance of two episodes: Una and the Lion, FQ. I. iii. 9, and Una and the Satyrs, FQ. I. vi. 11ff and 31.

Wordsworth uses the phrase "a bold bad Man" in Book VII, line 322 (1805), which de Selincourt traces to FQ. I. i. 37.[3] The same phrase appears in the poem "To the Lady Fleming", in the "Miscellaneous Poems" printed in Volume IV and discussed Chapter V of this study.

In Book VIII, lines 191-203 (1805), 144-56, with slight variations, (1850), are a direct allusion to and compression of several passages from "May" in THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER (lines 9-14, 19-24, 27-34) and from "Epithalamion" (lines 207-08).[4] The Spenser/

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[1] PRELUDE, 522-23.

[2] PRELUDE, 548.

[3] PRELUDE, 564.

[4] PRELUDE, 578.

Spenser passages depict the same pleasures of a rural May-day that Wordsworth describes:

> Nor such as Spenser fabled. True it is,
> That I had heard (what he perhaps had seen)
> Of maids at sunrise bringing in from far
> Their May-bush, and along the Streets, in flocks,
> Parading with a Song of taunting Rhymes,
> Aim'd at the Laggards slumbering within doors;
> Had also heard, from those who yet remember'd,
> Tales of the May-pole Dance, and flowers that deck'd
> The Posts and the Kirk-pillars, and of Youths,
> That each one with his Maid, at break of day,
> By annual custom issued forth in troops,
> To drink the waters of some favorite well,
> And hang it round with Garlands.

The 1805 version, which I have quoted above, continues and bemoans the fact that these pleasures are no longer available. It is all a dream now; "the times had scatter'd all These lighter graces..." (204-05). It is Wordsworth looking for the beauties of other times to supplant the unromantic present. Chapter VIII discusses this search. The 1850 version of the passage is not as strong in its condemnation of the loss, for "Love survives" and "The times... have dropped These lighter graces" (157-59). Wordsworth still uses Spenser, but his attitude toward him, his understanding of him, has undergone a transformation.

Chapter VIII discusses at length lines 443-66 (1805), part of the section of what Beaupuy meant to Wordsworth. There are two allusions in the passage, however, which can be mentioned here. Line 460 (1805), 459 (1850), "Satyrs in some viewless glade..." is compared by de Selincourt to FQ. I. vi. 13, "where Una is rescued from Sansloy by the Satyrs who 'lead her forth ... with olive girlond/

girlond croundʼ". He adds the adventure of Hellenore among the Satyrs, FQ. III. x. 43-44,[1] Spenser's parody of the Una episode. De Selincourt suggests that the Hermits in line 446 (1805) are possibly related to Archimago, FQ. I. i. 34.[2]

In lines 838-39, Book X (1805), 253-54, Book XI (1850), Wordsworth alludes to "Muiopotmos", 208-12,[3]

> What more felicitie can fall to creature
> Than to enjoy delight with libertie,
> And to be Lord of all the workes of Nature,
> To raine in thʼaire from thʼearth to highest skie...

Wordsworth's lines read:

> And spread abroad the wings of Liberty,
> Lord of himself, in undisturbʼd delight...

Wordsworth alludes to this same passage in Spencer's poem on several occasions, for example in "The Beggars". The ideal expressed in Spenser's poem obviously had great appeal to Wordsworth. In a very real sense, the butterfly had achieved the union of the real and ideal that Wordsworth's sense of idealism sought.

The episode related by Wordsworth and his youthful experience at and emotion about the gibbet in Book XI (1805), XII (1850) is discussed in Chapter VII in the light of Janet Spens' concept of superstition and "visionary dreariness". In 1804 Wordsworth added lines 342-43, in MS W, to Book XI (1805), lines which might very well indicate part of the attraction Wordsworth found in his poetic masters:

> I would enshrine the spirit of the past
> For future restoration.

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[1] PRELUDE, 590.

[2] PRELUDE, 590.

[3] PRELUDE, 606. Noted also in R. D. Haven's, THE MIND OF A POET, 2 Volumes (Baltimore: 1941), I, 546.

## The hinterland of the mind:
## Unconscious Reflections of Spenser in Wordsworth

Broadly speaking, there are two kinds of literary allusions. The first, and most obvious, is the direct, articulated reference to a poet or to a work intended as a supplementary guide to the thought and action. By the use of this kind of allusion, the poet gains from the accumulated knowledge of the reader a power of association which adds a much greater connotative force to what he is saying. The references to Spenser by Wordsworth which have been discussed in the previous chapters belong to this first group and are intentional and conscious acts on the part of Wordsworth. In a way, these allusions function as poetic signposts and reference points which help expand the reader's grasp of the idea of the poem in which such borrowings and allusions occur. All poets use this literary device to a greater or lesser extent, and with greater or lesser success depending upon how completely they have assimilated the actual meaning of the thing they are borrowing. Wordsworth, in his early poetry, borrowed extensively from a number of poets, not always with happy results. He knew however that a reference to Milton or Pope or Thomson or Gray would serve as a spur to the thoughts, and the associations, of his readers, most of whom would have some knowledge of the poets alluded to. We have already taken a long look at Wordsworth's conscious and deliberate borrowings from Spenser and have seen to what purpose these borrowings were made. His skill in using this aspect of his literary heritage improved considerably as he grew more proficient in his art.

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The second area of literary association is less easy to define or to catalog. This is an unconscious reflection of one poet by another. It is subconscious or unconscious remembering, in use of events and sometimes phrases, of the treatment given by another poet to a similar subject. There are a number of occasions in Wordsworth's poetry when he reminds us of Spenser in unspecific ways, particularly in poems which are concerned with the moral, philosophical and human values that interested both poets. There are several situations and points of view which Wordsworth and Spenser share and which frequently bring Wordsworth into unconscious reflections of the elder poet. Wordsworth's poetry is, to a remarkable degree, the tracing and stating of the process by which an individual mind has matured into an understanding of the universals which we all live by. I think that we probably make a mistake in thinking of Wordsworth as simply an individual. He is actually not concerned with writing of and about himself as "William Wordsworth", but he makes use of what he happens to know best - himself - as the particular method of expressing his universal truths. When he is not using himself for this end, he is often using individuals who have a marked resemblance to himself - Michael, the Solitary, the young girl in "We Are Seven", the Wanderer, even Emily Norton in The White Doe. It is not through the physical senses of Wordsworth the man that we are given an awareness of the universal truths that he is writing about but it is through his being that these universal experiences are transformed into particular and human points of immediate reference. The same sort of thing occupies much of Spenser's poetic energy, as Janet/

Janet Spens points out in her book.[1]

Wordsworth and Spenser were trying to do essentially the same thing: they were trying "to mediate between the general mental world of their day and the 'Eternal Verities'".[2] Unless the poet expresses himself in drama, as did Shakespeare, the only way he can accomplish this mediation is through the media of personal experiences converted into proofs of universal application to all men. Despite a difference in approach and understanding of the tangible and physical world, both Spenser and Wordsworth realized that it was the emotions generated by human experiences which lived and had meaning; the incidental and accidental actions which constitute physical experience are momentary; they pass and are no more. The emotion, although resulting from a specific action and its consequences on an individual, belongs to the universal truths of all men. Part of Wordsworth's function as a poet, as a philosophical poet, was to offer a kind of poetic definition to these emotions and provide a comparative mental experience - gained through the actual reading of the poems - by which the reader could experience, in a vicarious form, and thereby gain a knowledge of the eternal. Working from a different poetic standard, Spenser attempted the same thing. Janet Spens points out that the Elizabethans and the men of the nineteenth century did not approach reality, the visible and physical world, from the same point of view.[3] An awareness of this difference/

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[1] Janet Spens, SPENSER'S FAERIE QUEENE: AN INTERPRETATION (London: 1934), especially Chapters II and III.

[2] Spens, p. 56.

[3] Ibid., pp. 55-59.

difference is important if we are to avoid the mistake of assuming that there is no real philosophical relationship between Spenser and Wordsworth. Both, as this chapter will show, are intensely interested in the inner mind of the individual, that part of his being which is responsive to and capable of being made aware of the 'Eternal Verities'. Professor Spens suggests that "the Elizabethans tended to utter their more intense emotions through the imagery of human figures"[1] and that "A vivid mental experience seemed to the Elizabethans like another personality affecting them from without. Personification was not a fully conscious mental activity, but an involuntary result of the combination of intense emotion with an inherited habit of mind".[2] In contrast, "the men of the nineteenth century had been trained to accept the expression of theirs (intense emotions) through the imagery of inanimate nature".[3] Additionally, "the visible tangible physical world was the only certain existence" and as a consequence of this belief, their "imagery and form of expression in poetry necessarily followed this belief".[4] Nevertheless, the 'general intention' of both poets was the same: "the utterance, evocation and synthesis of the various filaments of emotion" [5] suitable for whatever particular/

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[1] Ibid., p. 55.

[2] Ibid., p. 54.

[3] Ibid., p. 54.

[4] Ibid., p. 55.

[5] Ibid., p. 59. Hartman, THE POEMS OF WORDSWORTH, pp. 267-68, takes the view that it is the "Prothalamion" which influences Wordsworth here.

particular purpose the poet had in mind.

In the situations where Wordsworth reflects unconsciously what Spenser has done a similar pattern develops. Spenser's statement usually takes the form of a sharply-defined, physical setting; Wordsworth makes the setting less definite and gives to it a quality of infinity which is foreign to Spenser's way of thinking.[1] Wordsworth transforms the objective philosophic reality of Spenser into a subjective non-reality to express his experiences - "Huge and mighty forms that do not live like living men" are the "incarnation of Wordsworth's most intimate experience".[2] Spenser would in place of these create a knight which embodied the thoughts he wanted to express.

A case in point is the final speech of Marmaduke in THE BORDERERS, discussed briefly in Chapter III. The "outward circumstances" that lead to Marmaduke's self-banishment are negative acts; in a sense, sins of omission rather than commission. He has wilfully abandoned a helpless man in the wilds and left him to die, because he believes that the man has earned his death. Marmaduke cannot do as Oswald suggests that he do, physically kill the old man, but his emotions as they have been directed by Oswald force him into the belief that he is doing the right and moral thing by causing, even in this "accidental" way, the death of the old man. Marmaduke's crime would be treated differently in a court/

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[1] I am indebted to Mr. Carnall for his help in defining this difference.

[2] Spen, p. 56.

court of law, but poetry is not a court of law. Because of his failure to fully comprehend the truth, Marmaduke must be made to suffer. No one can sentence him to any form of suffering other than himself. Wordsworth insists that suffering "obscure and dark" is the key to sublime human existence. Marmaduke suffers the pain of human isolation, of perpetual self-analysis, and one expects that he will discover his own deep feelings before he dies. Spenser's abstracted Alcyon, in "Daphnaida", is not far removed from Marmaduke. He too has committed a sin. He has loved to excess and on a specifically human level. He has failed, whether intentionally or unintentionally does not matter, to project the earthly love into an awareness of and participation in a love which transcends the human and enters into the universal. Daphne provides the contrast, and the necessity of punishment and suffering, by her realization of her "upward" spiritual movement as a result of her death.[1] This is what Alcyon must learn, and he can only learn it by submitting himself to the whims of nature and the world as an outcast. Both Marmaduke and Alcyon sentence themselves; both must wander the world in search of self-salvation. In each case, the salvation must come from within as each man realizes the universal truth that he is subject to. The overt physical experience passes and the character is left with the emotion of the action, which he must learn to understand on his own. In the back of his mind, Wordsworth was remembering Spenser's/

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[1] "Daphnaida", lines 260-294. Daphne tells Alcyon of her happiness at going to her "wished rest" in heaven, and that she is leaving him a pledge "Of the late love the which betwixt us past". Alcyon's human grief and human love does not permit him to understand.

Spenser's "Daphnaida" and parts of FQ. VI. vi. 6-14 (the Hermit's advice to Timias and Serena) when he composed Marmaduke's speech. Both sins begin in love and end in isolation, the complete antithesis of love. The creations by both poets satisfy Spens' suggestions. Alcyon has a physical presence about his exile that we do not feel about Marmaduke's. We can sense the endlessness of Marmaduke's journey, while Alcyon's stirs up the dust of the road.

But THE BORDERERS is a drama, and not a very good one. Marmaduke is only partly successful as an expression of the human soul striving for what Alcyon seems to achieve naturally. Also working against the play is its date of composition and what I think are its purposes. It belongs to the early period of Wordsworth's creative life and reflects the immaturities and difficulties that belong to that period. What gave birth to the play is disputable, but its ultimate effect is that of a rejection of the rationale of William Godwin's philosophy. The incompatibility of Godwinism (Oswald) and the human being searching for meaning in life (Marmaduke) is obvious; and the final confession and future atonement of Marmaduke is the beginning of Wordsworth's own deep awareness of the 'Eternal Verities'.

"The Brothers", discussed in Chapter IV, offers a stronger example of Wordsworth's assimilation and unconscious use of Spenserian ideas, especially those found in "Colin Clouts Come Home Again". In addition to the parallels noted in Chapter IV, which/

which probably were as much unconscious reflections of Spenserian imagery on the part of Wordsworth as conscious, there is the idea of a calenture fancy contained in the "undersong" of the poem. Written in 1800, the poem tells a straight-forward story of a sailor who returns to his childhood hills to see again the brother he left behind to be a shepherd. He discovers, through his conversations with the pastor, that his brother has died, and he returns to sea. Spenser, in CCCHA, speaks of the sea with fear and a degree of horror, based probably in part on the fear of the unknown (poetically) and an awareness of the power of the sea over the frail ships which plied the way between England and Ireland. Spenser is specific about his sea-vertigo:

> So to the sea we came; the sea? that is
> A world of waters heaped up on hie,
> Rolling like mountaines in wide wildernesse,
> Horrible, hideous, roaring with hoarse crie.
> (CCCHA, 196-199)

and continues his description of the terror of the sea, and says

> And yet as ghastly dreadfull as it seemes,
> Bold men, presuming life for gaine to sell,
> Dare tempt that gulf, and in those wandring stremes
> Seek waies unknowne, waies leading down to hell:
> (CCCHA, 208-211)

This is more than a graphic description of the waters by Colin, the rather timid and frightened shepherd. Beyond the surface of the picture there is something else. The water, like the rivers that Spenser loves and uses for symbols of life and joy,[1] is a symbol of the vicissitudes that face the man as he moves from station/

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[1] Professor Renwick, in his edition of DAPHNAIDA AND OTHER POEMS (London: 1929), makes this point, p. 184; Wordsworth uses rivers in much the same way in his sonnets on the River Duddon.

station to station in life. They are external - back-bitings, tricks, rumours, gossip - and they are internal - lack of confidence, ignorance, inability to convey ideas. Man, to achieve his goals, earthly and supra-earthly, must pass the seas of doubt and fear. The sailor in Wordsworth's poem conquers the sea, probably by admitting to its strength as John Wordsworth must have made clear to William, and returns to find his brother dead. Now he must return to the sea, with his comprehension of one universal truth - the trials of individual life - reinforced by an awareness of yet another universal truth - that man must return to his source. The pain of grief gives him the sublime human emotion that is the key to awareness. Spenser's undoubted emotional agony in the court of Elizabeth, when his fantasies were destroyed by a temporary reality, forced him into an understanding of what crossing the sea meant, and even more what re-crossing the sea meant. It is better to return to what one understands than it is to live in a maelstrom of uncertainty and confusion. The Sailor returns, and so does Colin Clout. It is an inevitable stage in their existence if they are to survive. I suggest that Wordsworth was remembering this when he wrote his poem, as well as the very dear association of "brothers" (Spenser-Ralegh, William-John) and the suggestive descriptions Spenser gives us of the sea.

Spenser gives us a concrete picture of the sea, huge, rough, frightening; it is redeemed only by the fact that the Shepheard of the Ocean calls it a part of Cynthia's realm. Spenser's description of/

of the sea, the place where "Cynthia her heards doth feed" and where "the shepheards which my Cynthia serve" do their service, is straightforward description, almost conversational in tone, yet pure allegory. Wordsworth gives us a different kind of picture, a Calenture: the sailor who "would often hang Over the vessel's side, and gaze and gaze", and in the waves his imagination

> Saw mountains, - saw the forms of sheep that grazed
> On verdant hills - with dwellings among trees,
> And shepherds clad in the same country gray
> Which he himself had worn.
>
> (61-64)

Wordsworth takes a fancy that was familiar to him (his borrowings from CCCHA demonstrate his knowledge of the poem; see Chapter V, the discussion of the "Miscellaneous Sonnets") and unconsciously transforms it in the "hinterland" of his mind into a Calenture. It is a dream sequence, unreal although a memory of the real; it is time in operation on something beautiful and clinging from the past. It is neither real nor concrete. It is from the same mould as Wordsworth's need to reach for something solid because reality had deserted him and left him in an "abyss of idealism".[1] In his note to "Intimations of Immortality", Wordsworth tells us that he was "often unable to think of external things as having external existence, and I communed with all that I saw as something not apart from, but inherent in, my own immaterial nature".[2] F. W. Bateson suggests that this "extreme subjectivism/

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[1] Spens, pp. 136-37, places the Leech-gatherer in this kind of situation; F. W. Bateson, WORDSWORTH: A RE-INTERPRETATION (London: 1956), pp. 60 and 178-79, gives us a short and straightforward meaning for the term in respect to Wordsworth.

[2] PW, IV, p. 463. The I.F. note on the Ode should be read in conjunction with my comments on the "Leech-gatherer".

subjectivism of his earlier relationship to the physical world" ended, at least for a while, when Wordsworth discovered a "consciousness of the infinite variety of natural appearances" when he was fourteen and observed how much more in relief the boughs of an oak tree appeared to be when they were between him and the setting sun than they were in full daylight.[1] In a letter to William Knight, Bonamy Price describes Wordsworth's "natural spontaneous idealism" and his need, at one time in his life to push against something to assure himself that something existed outside himself.[2] Wordsworth says that he sketched his Calenture from one which appeared in Gilbert's HURRICANE, but it is obvious that he had heard John Wordsworth talking about such things during a walking tour that William, John, and Coleridge took through the Lake District only some three or four months before he wrote "The Brothers".[3] It is equally feasible that he read "Colin Clout" at about the same time, since John had his copy of Anderson's BRITISH POETS which he left with William the same year. His recollection of John's Calenture experiences coupled with a memory of the sea-scene and the general pattern of Colin Clout helped in the production of his poem. Consciously he was thinking of Gilbert's description and of what John must have described; unconsciously, he was remembering Spenser's more specific and definite/

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[1] Bateson, pp. 59-60.

[2] Knight's edition of Wordsworth's POETICAL WORKS, IV, p. 58. Price's letter is dated April 21, 1881.

[3] John, William, and Coleridge took their tour in late October and November of 1799; "The Brothers" was written in February of the following year.

definite picture.

Marmaduke and Alcyon are both young men whose salvation is before them. The Old Man Travelling and the Leech-gatherer have seemingly found theirs. It is Spenser's "Daphnaida" which Wordsworth unconsciously remembers in these last two poems.[1] There are also conscious reflections of "Daphnaida" in the "Leech-gatherer". The situation Spenser creates, especially in the beginning section of "Daphnaida", is a concrete and visible situation: the poet walks out into the evening air, hoping that the burdens of his mind will be relieved by the beauties of nature. However, there comes into his mind "a troublous thought" which "deepely doth empassion" his soul, the misery "in which men live", especially himself. Lost in his individual thought, he meets someone who takes his thinking away from himself into a wider consideration. His friend Alcyon," Clad all in black", with "careless lockes, uncombed and unshorne", sighing and groaning "As if his heart in peeces would have rent", is the man he meets, and he is rebuffed by him. The poet reminds Alcyon of their friendship in order that he might find the reason behind Alcyon's unnatural and unexpected state. He argues with him and tells him that someone should be aware of what the trouble is so that the world will not think Alcyon had taken his own life when he died. Begrudgingly, Alcyon agrees to tell him, mainly on the strength of friendship/

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[1] But see Hartman, pp. 267-68, for his view that "Prothalamion" is Wordsworth's source. Hartman seems to see Wordsworth's work as "spousal verse" and accepts Spenser's marriage songs as basic sources. I agree in principle but not in his particulars.

friendship. He tells how he won and then lost his lion. The poet doesn't understand, until Alcyon explains his allegory in simple and very effective words: "Daphne thou knewest,' (quoth he) 'She now is dead!'" Alcyon falls to the ground in a faint as if simply stating the truth and not hiding it was more than the earth-bound human soul could endure. The poet "with deepe dismay Was much appald" and quickly revived him. Alcyon then pours out his heart, and his grief, and his rejection of the world. When he finishes his story, the weight of truth again causes him to faint; again he is revived by the poet, but he is not to be consoled and goes off alone "With staggring pace and dismall lookes dismay" until such time that he

> with sorrow satisfyde
> Th'importune fates, which vengeance on me seeke,
> And th'heavens with long languor pacifyde,
> She, for pure pitie of my sufferance meeke,
> Will send for me; for which I daylie long,
> And will till then my painfull penance eeke.
> (386-91)

Both the Leech-gatherer and the figure in "Animal Tranquility and Decay" have attained what Alcyon is seeking. In the shorter poem, the old man is pictured as

> one to whom
> All effort seems forgotten; one to whom
> Long patience hath such mild composure given,
> That patience now doth seem a thing of which
> He hath no need. He is by Nature led
> To peace so perfect, that the young behold
> With envy what the old man hardly feels.
> (8-14)

We are not told what human ills have beset him, what experience he has had, nor do we need to know these things. He has passed through the human level of things into an universal peace in which he can accept/

accept whatever the world offers him without being disturbed by it. He has "satisfyde Th'importune fates".

The "Leech-Gatherer" corresponds to the "Daphnaida" in its beginning. The poet strolls out into the morning, "as happy as a Boy", his mind free from the melancholy and vanity of the world. His delight is complete,

> But, as it sometimes chanceth, from the might
> Of joy in minds that can no farther go,
> As high as we have mounted in delight
> In our dejection do we sink as low,
> (22-25)

The mood changes, but he pauses and recaptures the things that made his initial mood one of joy, just as Alcyon recounts the joys that made his life complete. All these things are experiences, of the earth and of the man: they are things which come unsought, but which come to everyone. He has not yet learned anything from them other than pure human joy. Then he saw "The Old Man in that naked wilderness". The realities of "Sky-lark singing" and "the playful Hare" and the "grass... bright with rain-drops" fade into the dream-reality of the Old Man's presence. Wordsworth's imagination refuses to accept the Old Man as simply an old man; he becomes a point of universal truth which clarifies all that the poet had enjoyed during the morning walk. In his very being all these things are rendered intelligible as objects which serve to teach man how to rise above the things of the earth into the knowledge of the things which are beyond the earth. The poet speaks to the Old Man, and the Old Man gives "A gentle answer" "In courteous speech", descriptions/

descriptions which remind us suddenly of Prince Arthur. As the Old Man speaks, the poet's "former thoughts return'd" and denied him awareness of what has been said: this is the crisis, self and earth have intruded, as they do in the Intimations Ode, to prevent the entrance of 'Eternal Verities'. The Old Man seems to be a dream-figure, indefinite, undefined, elusive. The conflict between the poet's "fear that kills" and the Old Man's speech "above the reach Of ordinary men" is submerged in an Alcyon-like refusal of the earthly elements to accept the strength gained by the Old Man through "God's good help". Almost accidentally the poet's human curiosity dissolves the dream and he asks again his question of the Old Man. This time he listens and "The Old Man's shape, and speech, all troubled" him. His imagination sees the Old Man, larger than life, "pace About the weary moors continually, Wandering about alone and silently". Two years later he was to describe Spenser in almost the same terms.

Like the Wanderer in THE EXCURSION, the Old Man moves through life with patience and dignity, and with peace. Marmaduke and Alcyon have this yet to achieve. The Solitary in THE EXCURSION has it yet to achieve. The poet has now a vision of it and a point of reference to remind him of it. The ideals of patience, dignity, and peace haunted Wordsworth, as they did Marmaduke and Alcyon; they are the ends to which mortal life must be directed if the 'Eternal Verities' are to be found. Taking his directions partly from Spenser and from Spenser's creations, Wordsworth created his own/

own "mythology" of characters on the road to this kind of mortal salvation, a creation which culminated in the hero of THE PRELUDE, a hero who achieves the sought-for salvation.

Janet Spens points out another illustration of Wordsworth's sense of infinity as a projection of Spenser's clear definition of scenes. She selects the passage from THE PRELUDE, Book XII, which describes the experience the young Wordsworth (he says " he was not six years old") had when he and his servant companion were separated during a ride and he rode past a gibbet where a murderer had been hanged, and compares it to passages in the first book of THE FAERIE QUEENE, Una's "forsaken, wofull" wandering and her meeting with the girl and her blind mother in FQ. I. iii. 10-12. The allegory, as Spens says, is straightforward: superstition is put to flight by Truth, "but its poetic value lies chiefly in its suggestion of the mental experience of one gone astray in the twilight of superstitious instinct and wandering among the grey chill shadows that cling to the by-ways of the mind. The emotion is the same as that of the Wordsworth passage."[1] Una is more than a personification of Truth; she is also a character, "a conscious being catching, co-ordinating and reflecting the various elements surrounding her",[2] which is what the child in Wordsworth's passage does. Both pass through the region of superstitious fear, are very much aware of it, but are not contaminated by it. The "hopeless resignation" of Spenser's girl, her/

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[1] Spens, p. 58.

[2] Ibid., p. 59.

her terror and flight to her blind mother in the dark cottage, picture the conditions in which superstition flourishes - poverty, ignorance, dreariness.[1] What is more important than these surface things, according to Spens, is the "general intention" of the passage, which "is the utterance, evocation and synthesis of the various filaments of emotion" which make up superstition. Wordsworth's purpose was the same. "In his work, narrative and description exist simply as formulae of incantation by which magnificent emotional presences may be evoked. The curious un-English detail of the girl carrying the pitcher of water on her head suggests that the actual biographical incident has been coloured by the Spenser passage in the hinterland of Wordsworth's memory. In any case the poets are depicting the same mental experience - a gloomy twilight of the mind in which primitive forms move uneasily: but Wordsworth expresses this sense of desolation in terms of the landscape with the human figure as a mere element in it; Spenser... finds utterance mainly in the attitudes and actions of the imbecile girl and her blind mother, who literally embody his emotion."[2]

Wordsworth's "visionary dreariness" gives a "distinct sense of horizontal infinity... produced in part by Wordsworth's use of Spenserian features".[3] Spenser, within the framework of presenting the emotion, gives us a visual image in which we can see flesh and blood/

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[1] Ibid., p. 59.

[2] Ibid., p. 59.

[3] Hartman, p. 119. Cf. Willey, p. 272.

blood creatures in definite poses; Wordsworth de-humanizes the physical and forces it to go "beyond finite place to linear infinity".[1] It is a remarkable instance of Wordsworth's belief that the most vital poetry is that in which "things are lost in each other, and limits vanish, and aspirations are raised..."[2] Wordsworth's belief in this ideal is reinforced by what he says in his "Answer to Mathetes", "there can be no confirmed and passionate love of truth for him who has not experienced the hollowness of error".[3] Wordsworth looks at the reality, adds to it the cloak of the ideal, and expands the picture into infinity. At the back of his mind as he was doing this were the concrete and finite personifications of Spenser.

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[1] Hartman, p. 119.

[2] Letter to Landor, January 21, 1824. LY, 136.

[3] Grosart, I, p. 323.

## Within the Groves of Chivalry An Unlimited Universe

Janet Spens says that "Spenser's poems like Milton's are all parts of a whole; he appears to have intended to incorporate in or to relate to THE FAERIE QUEENE all that he valued in his other work".[1] In his Preface to THE EXCURSION (1814) Wordsworth writes of the relationship between his unpublished poem on "the origin and progress of his own powers" and THE EXCURSION, pointing out that both poems belong to THE RECLUSE, a philosophical poem containing his "views of Man, Nature, and Society"[2] (he had earlier said "Nature, Man, and Society"[3]):

> - The preparatory poem is biographical, and conducts the history of the Author's mind to the point when he was enboldened to hope that his faculties were sufficiently matured for entering upon the arduous labour which he had proposed to himself: and the two Works have the same kind of relation to each other, if he may so express himself, as the ante-chapel has to the body of a gothic church. Continuing this allusion he may be permitted to add, that his minor Pieces, which have been long before the Public, when they shall be properly arranged, will be found by the attentive Reader to have such connexion with the main Work as may give them claim to be likened to the little cells, oratories, and sepulchral recesses, ordinarily included in those edifices.[4]

Somewhat earlier, in a letter to Lady Beaumont (May 21, 1807), he makes clear the general purposes behind his poetry. He says that "There/

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[1] Janet Spens, SPENSER'S FAERIE QUEENE, pp. 10-11.

[2] PW, V, 2 and 363.

[3] PW, V, 368.

[4] PW, V, 2.

"There is scarcely one of my poems which does not aim to direct the attention to some moral sentiment, or to some general principle, or law of thought, or of intellectual constitution."[1] In the same letter he further qualifies his poetry by saying that "the voice which is the voice of my Poetry with Imagination cannot be heard".[2] In his letter to J. K. Miller, already quoted in Chapter IV, Wordsworth adds another dimension to his method of thinking: "it is the habit of my mind inseparably to connect loftiness of imagination with the humility of mind which is best taught in Scripture".[3] In the Preface to the 1815 Edition of the poems he includes Spenser's Works in the "grand store-houses of enthusiastic and meditative imagination",[4] and in the letter to Gillies, previously cited, he says that "imagination almost always transcends reality".[5] And one remembers that Wordsworth loves Spenser for his "earnestness and devotedness",[6] and spoke of "the gentle affectionate spirit of the man".[7]

Wordsworth's/

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1 Letter to Lady Beaumont, May 21, 1807, MY, I, 126.

2 Ibid.

3 LY, II, 592.

4 PW, II, 439.

5 MY, II, 611.

6 Peacock, 361.

7 Lady Richardson's "Reminiscences of Wordsworth", Grosart, III, 435-6.

Wordsworth's realization that Spenser was one of the four poets he "must study, and equal if I could," and his determination to make a thorough study of the Elizabethans when he settled at Grasmere, coupled with our awareness of Wordsworth's strong familiarity with Spenser's work, allows one to suggest that Wordsworth recognized in Spenser the relationship of all his other poems to THE FAERIE QUEENE. If he himself seriously thought about relating all of his own works to his major poem, it is reasonable to suggest that he looked for the same sort of association in the works of the poet to whom he turned so frequently for guidance and for allusions. Spenser held out to Wordsworth a philosophic and poetic treatment of an ideal world, a world centered on and in the glories of a past excellence. Spenser stands for a simple and pure world, an uncynical world, where devoted action leads to success. Spenser's poetic world was a clearly defined moral world to which Wordsworth compared his own. In Spenser's world there was soil favorable for the growth of honor, beauty, honesty; it was a world in which monsters (moral aberrations) were satisfactorily dealt with by virtuous people.

Wordsworth recognized his own world as an unromantic one where "A false Gloriana... imposes worthless services"[1] and where there are "recreant knights... among us far outnumbering the true".[2] The French Revolution at first promised to restore the Spenserian/

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[1] "Answer to a Letter of Mathetes", Grosart, I, 322.

[2] Ibid.

Spenserian "other times" to Wordsworth's time. Wordsworth's friend Beaupuy, like a knight of old,

> thro' the events
> Of that great change wander'd in perfect faith,
> As through a Book, an old Romance or Tale
> Of Fairy, or some dream of actions wrought
> Behind the summer clouds.
> (PRELUDE, IX, 303-07, 1805)

And the beginning events of the Revolution, before the "civil slaughter", led Wordsworth into deep and earnest philosophical conversations from which, he says,

> I slipp'd in thought
> And let remembrance steal to other times
> When Hermits from their sheds and caves forth stray'd
> Walk'd by themselves, so met in shades like these,
> And if a devious Traveller was heard
> Approaching from a distance, a might chance,
> With speed and echoes loud of trampling hoofs
> From the hard floor reverberated, then
> It was Angelica thundering through the woods
> Upon her Palfrey,or that gentler Maid
> Erminia, fugitive as fair as She.
> Sometimes I saw, methought, a pair of Knights
> Joust underneath the trees, that, as in storm,
> Did rock above their heads; anon the din
> Of boisterous merriment and music' roar,
> With sudden Proclamation, burst from haunt
> Of Satyrs in some viewless glade, with dance
> Rejoicing o'er a Female in the midst,
> A mortal Beauty, their unhappy Thrall;
> The width of those huge Forests, unto me
> A novel scene, did often in this way
> Master my fancy, while I wander'd on
> With that revered Companion.
> (PRELUDE, IX, 444-466, 1805)

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive" in a France that had

> The attraction of a Country in Romance;
> When Reason seem'd the most to assert her rights
> When most intent on making of herself
> A prime Enchanter to assist the work,
> Which then was going forwards in her name.
> (PRELUDE, X, 697-701, 1805)

Wordsworth's/

Wordsworth's growing devotion to the ideals of the "other times" is clearly seen in the expansion of the 1805 version of PRELUDE, I, 181-184, into the much deeper, far more reasoned-out 1850 version found in PRELUDE, I, 170-185. The four lines of the 1805 version are simple statements of what he was thinking about as poetic themes. The 1850 lines are a philosophic survey of what these themes mean and what their importance might be to present times:

> More often turning to some gentle place
> Within the groves of Chivalry, I pipe
> To shepherd swains, or seated harp in hand,
> Amid reposing knights by a river side
> Or fountain, listen to the grave reports
> Of dire enchantments faced and overcome
> By the strong mind, and tales of warlike feats,
> Where spear encountered spear, and sword with sword
> Fought, as if conscious of the blazonry
> That the shield bore, so glorious was the strife;
> Whence inspiration for a song that winds
> Through ever changing scenes of votive quest
> Wrongs to redress, harmonious tribute paid
> To patient courage and unblemished truth,
> To firm devotion, zeal unquenchable,
> And Christian meekness hallowing faithful loves.

He himself has become a kind of knight whose duty it is "Wrongs to redress" through courage, truth, devotion, zeal, meekness, and love.

Very probably it was the example of Spenser that reinforced Wordsworth's capacity to act and teach in a highly unromantic world. Reinforcement and encouragement came also from Milton, whose reading of Spenser Wordsworth seems to have shared. Wordsworth's poetic universe, however, had to be constructed out of different materials. Spenser had used mythology and the emblems of an unquestioned and unscientifically dissected Christianity in the creation of his world. The difference between right and wrong could be established on the premises/

premises underlying the codes of chivalry and the ideals of Christianity. Milton, although he was in the beginnings of the rise of rationalistic science, "could still employ the concrete symbols of faith without feeling that he was deliberately utilizing what was fictitious. God and Satan were real beings to him, as well as "principles".[1] Wordsworth was faced with the awkward problem of making "poetry out of the direct dealings of his mind and heart with the visible universe", or creating, as Keats and Shelley often did, a mythology of his own.[2] He chose the former. Wordsworth's scientific background insisted that "there must be no abstractions, no symbols, no myths, to stand between the mind and its true object".[3] "... it was the 'visible world', no abstract machine, that Wordsworth sought; and he felt that mechanical materialism had substituted a 'universe of death for that which moves with light and life instinct, actual, divine, and true'. /PRELUDE, XIII, 140-43, 1805/ The belief that Wordsworth constructed out of his experiences was a belief in the capacity of the mind to cooperate with this 'active universe', to contribute something of its own to it in perceiving it, and not, as sensationalism taught, merely to receive, passively, impressions from without. It was this belief, or the experiences upon which the belief was based, which encouraged him to hope that poetry might be delivered from the fetters of the mechanical tradition without being allowed to fall into disrepute as 'unreal' or 'fanciful/

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[1] Basil Willey, THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND, p. 266.

[2] Ibid., 267.

[3] Ibid.

'fanciful'.[1] Professor Willey suggests that such figures as the Leech-gatherer, Michael, Emily, are "beings whose humanity is ennobled by close associations with 'mute insensate things'."[2] He ascribes Wordsworth's " pre-conception that humanity is in closest touch with 'reality', as well as in its healthiest, most wisely tranquil, state when it is most intimately blended with the cosmic processes"[3], to the two very broad traditions Wordsworth was heir to: a belief in the divinity of nature, and a belief in the grandeur and dignity of man and in the holiness of the heart's affections.[4] Willey traces both of these traditions back to the Renaissance. Spenser used mythology and Christian symbolism to express himself within the traditions; Wordsworth used Nature and man, the realities of things, the world of sense translated into emotional and spiritual realms. Janet Spens says that for Spenser "anything intensely itself has an irrestible attraction for him. Wordsworth /felt/ a passionate excitement in face of anything which, however momentarily, utterly and exclusively is itself..."[5] "Faery Land then is the mind, the inner experience of each of us, and the subject of THE FAERIE QUEENE was the same as that of Wordsworth's projected magnum opus /THE RECLUSE/ more than two centuries later - the apprehension, description and organization/

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[1] Ibid., 269.

[2] Ibid., 277.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., 276.

[5] Janet Spens, SPENSER'S FAERIE QUEENE, p. 46.

organization of the inner world."[1]

The movement of Wordsworth toward his ultimate awareness of Spenser's grasp of the "highest moral truths" is the movement of the mind of a poet away from the practice of sheer imitation and descriptive borrowings and into an assimilation of one kind of world into another, into an "infinitude of truth".

Wordsworth speaks, in THE EXCURSION, of the effect created by "the ample moon" as it rises behind "a thick and lofty grove". It

> Burns, like an unconsuming fire of light,
> In the green trees; and, kindling on all sides
> Their leafy umbrage, turns the dusky veil
> Into a substance glorious as her own...

A like power, he says,

> abides
> In man's celestial spirit; virtue thus
> Sets forth and magnifies herself; thus feeds
> A calm, a beautiful, and silent fire,
> From the encumbrances of mortal life,
> From error, disappointment - nay, from guilt;
> And sometimes, so relenting justice wills,
> From palpable oppressions of despair.[2]

For Wordsworth, Spenser moved "with the moon's beauty and the moon's soft pace"; and we may take these lines as an indication of where Spenser's deepest appeal lay. His power to "give the universality and permanence of abstractions to his human beings" is a power to reinforce our belief that the world is indeed ordered by a Being

Whose/

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[1] Ibid., 52.

[2] THE EXCURSION, IV, 1062-77.

> Whose everlasting purposes embrace
> All accidents, converting them to good.[1]

In a world as disorderly and disquieting as Wordsworth lived in, this was comfort and encouragement worthy of a "Brother, Englishman, and Friend".

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[1] Ibid., 16-17.

APPENDIX A

"Some Additional Imitations of Spenser, 1700-1805"

H. E. Cory, in his "Spenser, Thomson, and the Romantics," PMLA, XXVL (1911), pp. 51-91, and Edward P. Morton, in two articles: "The Spenserian Stanza Before 1700," MP, IV (1906-07), pp. 639-54, and "The Spenserian Stanza in the Eighteenth Century," MP, X (1912-13), pp. 365-91, provide the major compilations of the imitators of Spenser before the publication of Earl Reeves Wasserman's ELIZABETHAN POETRY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, University of Illinois, 1947. None of the three claim to be exhaustive in their listings, and all tend to be general rather than precise. Wasserman's chart, for example, lists poems influenced by THE FAERIE QUEENE, but does not distinguish between imitation of the stanza and a general influence. Cory and Morton list poets who seem to have been influenced by Spenser's poems, but often do not tell in which poems the influence or imitation appears. Morton, possibly drawing on Cory's work, discusses the stanzas that are derivative of Spenser's stanza - the six line form rhyming ABABCC, with a concluding alexandrine, which he says was probably invented by William Whitehead (p. 370); the stanza which he says Akenside developed as an alternative to Prior's stanza and which has the rhyme scheme ABABCCDEED and which ends in an alexandrine (p. 369), and the stanza developed by Prior in the attempt to regularise and render acceptable to neo-classical standards the stanza of Spenser. To their discussions of users of these stanza forms, and the true Spenserian stanza form, both Morton and Cory add/

add poems which were obviously composed under strong Spenserian influence. Wasserman adds names to the lists of both Morton and Cory, using the same general categories. My listing consists of the names of poets and poems which reflect Spenserian influence within these same spheres of influence and which do not appear in the works of Cory, Morton or Wasserman.

I have limited my listing to the century 1700-1805 because this is the period of poetic work Wordsworth might be expected to be most familiar with when he was young. I have terminated my listing at 1805 in the belief that by this time Wordsworth would have scarcely been influenced in his thinking about Spenser by the work of others. His letter to C. Grace Godwin in 1829 (LATER YEARS, I, 438-39) is an indication of the settled attitude toward Spenser that he had developed.

## 1700-1710

1704 William King, "Orpheus and Eurydice" and "Rufinus: or, The Favorite", Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, IX, 286-87. Both poems appear to be patterned on Spenser's Masque of the Seven Deadly Sins and contain elements of the Masque.

1707 Elijah Fenton, "An Ode to the Sun", Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, X, 391-93. The poem is written in seven sections each containing three stanzas. The first two stanzas of each section rhyme, as a general rule, ABABCCDEED (which Morton says Akenside invented years later); the third stanza is in Prior's version of Spenser's stanza. Fenton was a great admirer of Spenser's poetry and refers to him constantly. In his "An Epistle to Mr. Southerne", 1710-11, he seems to epitomise his age's attitude toward Spenser in the lines

> "Even Spenser's pearls in muddy waters lie,
> Yet soon their beams attract the diver's eye:
> Rich was their imagery, till Time defac'd
> The curious works:"

The poems appear also in Fenton's POEMS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, published by Bernard Lintot in 1717.

1710 John Oldham, "A Satyr. The Person of SPENSER is brought in, Dissuading the Author from the Study of POETRY, and Shewing How Little it is Esteem'd and Encourag'd in this Present Age", THE WORKS OF MR. JOHN OLDHAM, compiled by John Hindmarch, 1686. This was re-published in 1710. Carpenter was not aware of the 1686 publication, which is in the Edinburgh University Library. The poem is in couplets and refers constantly to Spenser the poet but only rarely to the poetry.

1711-20

?? William Somervile, "Hobbinol, or the Rural Games", Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, XI. Undated, the poem is a blank verse burlesque with Colin, Cuddy, Cubbin, Hobbinol and other names from THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER as characters.

1712 MISCELOANEOUS POEMS AND TRANSLATIONS, published by Lintot, contains a "Song to be sung.1..Shakespeare's Play", possibly by Oldham. Rhyme scheme is ABABBCC with concluding alexandrine.

1713 John Gay, "Rural Sports", probably written in 1713, demonstrates Gay's knowledge of the SHEPHEARDES CALENDER.

1721-30

1727 William Broome, POEMS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, published by Lintot, 1727. "The Story of Talus" is drawn in part from Spenser, in part from Apollonius Rhodius. Also in Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, XII, 32-33.

1731-40

?? Walter Harte, "Meditations on Christ's Death and Passion", Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, XVI, 402-3. (The poem does not appear in the 1727 edition of Harte's poems.) Like Fenton, with whom he worked on Pope's translation of Homer, Harte was devoted to Spenser. Allusions abound in his poetry. This particular poem is in Spenser's stanza.

1741-50

?? Samuel Boyse, "Tears of the Muses", Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, XIV, 584-85. Undated, but possibly c.1743. There are echoes of Spenser in the poem.

1744 Robert Dodsley, "On the Death of Mr. Pope", Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, XV, 337. ABABCC, with final alexandrine, which reads the same for all stanzas: "With sounds to sooth the ear, with sense to warm the heart." Chalmers prints, pp. 339-40, Dodsley's "Pain and Patience," undated but in the same rhyme pattern.

1747 Thomas Warton, "Pleasures of Melancholy", in couplets, appeals to Spenser for help in the use of mystic dreams.

?? John Cunningham, Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, XIV; a friend to Shenstone; his pastorals are influenced, it seems, by THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER.

1751-70

-- Christopher Smart, Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, XVI. Smart's poems published in 1752 and 1763. Spenserian influence on odes. "Ode VIII, Epithalamion" similar to Spenser's marriage song, and reflects some of Spenser's words and phrases. Ode IX is in a version of ABABCC, with a final alexandrine. "The Hop-Garden" borrows old words - wight, yclep'd, etc. - and mentions Colin Clout.

-- Mark Akenside, Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, XIV. POEMS published in 1758 contain at least six odes written in variations of Spenser's stanza, only one of which is named by Cory, Morton or Wasserman. Odes IV, VIII, and IX (from Volume I of POEMS), and II and IV (from Volume II) are in ten line stanzas of varied rhyme and length patterns, but always ending in alexanderine. Ode IX (Vol. I) is in the stanza form Morton says that Akenside invented - but which Elijah Fenton used as early as 1707.

1762 Sir William Jones, "Arcadia" (not published until 1772), Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, XVIII, 446-49. Based on Addison's suggestion in GUARDIAN 32, Jones' poem is a history of the pastoral; draws heavily on Spenser.

1764 William Mason, "Ode IV", in POEMS, is in Prior's stanza.

1766 John Cunningham, "Corydon...", in his POEMS; frequent allusions to THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER and to THE FAERIE QUEENE.

?? John Langhorne, Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, XVI. Frequent use of ABABCC and ABBACC, with final alexandrine. Chalmers suggests Spenserian influence.

?? Edward Lovibond, "Ode to Captivity", Chalmers, ENGLISH POETS, XVI, 292, in a version of Prior's stanza. "On An Asiatic Lady", p. 301, in ABABCC, with final alexandrine.

1771-90

1782 Robert Alves, POEMS, Edinburgh, 1782. Noted by Wasserman; several poems in ABABCCDEED, final alexandrine, not listed by him however. "Ode to Night" in ABABCC, final alexandrine, not listed.

1782 William Hayley, AN ESSAY ON EPIC POETRY, London, 1782. In couplets; Epistle III, lines 389ff, is a poetic evaluation of Spenser.

1790 John Jortin, "An Hymn to Harmony", in his TRACTS, ETC., London, 1790. ABABCC, strong allusions to Spenser. Probably written much earlier, c.1730-40.

1791-1805

1800 Anne Bannerman, POEMS, Edinburgh, 1800. Frequent use of ABABCC with final alexandrine.

1803 Mrs. Grant, POEMS, Edinburgh, 1803. "Answer to a Poetical Epistle from an Intimate Friend", "To Miss D...r of Boath", and "Peaceful Shades" all in ABABCC and all with allusions to Spenser.

It is interesting to observe, beyond the limits of this brief listing, that between 1814 and 1825, no fewer than thirty separate publications containing one or more poems either in Spenser's stanza or in one of the major variations of it were published.

APPENDIX B

"An Unpublished Letter of Wordworth's"

Mr. Andrew Broom, Assistant Keeper of Records for Scotland, to whom I had applied for information of a different nature, told me of the existence of this letter in the files of Oliver and Boyd, Ltd., Publishers. I include it here with ther permission of Mr. Douglas Grant, Director of Oliver and Boyd, Ltd.

Wordsworth's letter, to James Dyer, a master at the English Academy in Edinburgh, is concerned with a "proposed Publication" of some of Wordsworth's poetry for use in schools, and details Wordsworth's reasons for rejecting the terms offered by the publishers. Dyer, who was probably to be the editor, is given permission by the poet to print privately as many copies of the text-book publication "as might answer (?) the demand of your own Academy or a few friends," a publication which Wordsworth would not be "looking for any pecuniary emolument from..." The letter does not appear in de Selincourt's editions of the letters of the Wordsworth family, or in any other compilation of Wordsworth letters. I have not been able to find any other letters from Wordsworth to Dyer, or any other mention of the "proposed Publication."

The letter consists of a single sheet, folded so as to give four writing sides, one of which was to be the cover. The poet filled three sides and spilled over onto the cover for his last lines and for his postscript. The letter is in Wordsworth's handwriting, and not that of Dorothy or Mary. There are at least three places in the letter where I have had to supply conjectural words/

words due to the illegibility of Wordsworth's "vile scrawl". These places are indicated by (?). The letter seems to have been written in some haste for there are a number of words which have been scored out, the initial wording being readable in a few cases. One sentence, beginning "They might plead..." is grammatically and syntactically nonsensical. The text of the letter, with scored out words retained, is as follows.

On the cover - Jas. Dyer Esq$^{u}$..
English Academy
Edinburgh

Inside -

Rydal Mount April 3rd 1828

Dear Sir,

Messrs Oliver & Boyd (as perhaps you may have learned from themselves) decline the proposed Publication, because I cannot accede to their proposition; that all future ~~xxxxx~~ editions of the work, if any be called for, should be theirs upon the same terms. I told them that I should ~~xxxxx~~ regard ~~them~~ them as having a prior claim to consideration, but that I could not bind ~~xxxxx~~ myself to them as to any future Edition, having not done so with any publication whatsoever in which ~~I~~ I have been engaged. They grant this proposition of theirs, upon the trouble and difficulty of getting a School-book introduced, and therefore, say they, a Publisher would never be renumerated or stimulated to exertion (?) upon one Edition unless he retained a permanent interest in every succeeding one!! It is obvious that a claim grounded/

grounded upon this view of the case, would not only prevent me from transferring the Publication to another if I were dissatisfied, but might also be argued (? - perhaps 'urged') to prevent me withholding even my Refusal to the Printing of a second Edition. They might plead that they had incurred trouble & expenser etc, & that it was dealing (?) hardly with them if having granted them the liberty to print all future Editions, I came to a resolution that some should be printed, though there was a demand for a second -- a demand, as they might say, in no small degree created by the pains they had taken -- they overlook the fact that many may be interested principally for a School-book & which has a wider sale. We differed also upon another Point of Minor importance -- they require a discount or commission of six per cents &c, to this I objected as unreasonable, though I am aware that authors either from Necessity or Carelessness, too frequently submit to this demand; the consequences of that is, that instead of having one half of the proceeds of the sale, after printing, paper, advertizing, &c, are paid, they have only two shares out of five -----

I am truly sorry that you should have had so much trouble upon this occasion to no purpose -- as other Publishers would probably take the same view of their interest Messrs O & B have done, and to such an arrangement I must give a positive refusal. --

I cannot conclude without expressing my pleasure on finding that you have taken such an interest in these volumes, & my thanks for the trouble you have had upon the occasion. If

the/

the beauty of this country should attract you I hope you will favor me with a call -- I ~~xxxxx~~ (turn over) remain dear Sir ~~xxxxx~~ faithfully

yours

Wm Wordsworth

NB. It has just struck me -- that ~~If~~ you ~~xxxxx~~ ~~xxxxx~~ might be disposed to venture upon striking off as many copies as might answer (?) the demand of your own Academy or a few friends; and so manage the thing as not to be ~~xxxxx~~ out of pocket by it; if you should be of that opinion, I have the inclination, ~~xxxxx~~ & I give my consent with great pleasure to the attempt; not looking for any pecuniary emolument from an Edition upon such a Scale.----

# A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Bibliography, which is in two parts, is a listing of those books, articles, and extracts which have contributed specific words and thoughts to the body of this paper. The first listing consists of separate books, anthologies, and collections; the second consists of articles and extracts. I have not given individual listing to the poets whose works appear in Chalmers' ENGLISH POETS, or to the writers whose works are extracted in various anthologies.

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